PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY

Embodying the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Bulletin* of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem

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JULY · 1937
SIXTY-NINTH YEAR

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2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

THE WILDERNESS OF ZIN

By

C. LEONARD WOOLLEY & T. E. LAWRENCE

With a chapter on the Greek Inscriptions by M. N. Tod

Sir Frederic Kenyon in the Introduction states :—

The Wilderness of Zin was first published as the Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1914-15. In view, however, of the subsequent careers of its two authors, and of the literary merit which adds charm to the description of a country of no little biblical and historical interest, it seems to deserve a wider publicity than the proceedings of a learned society.

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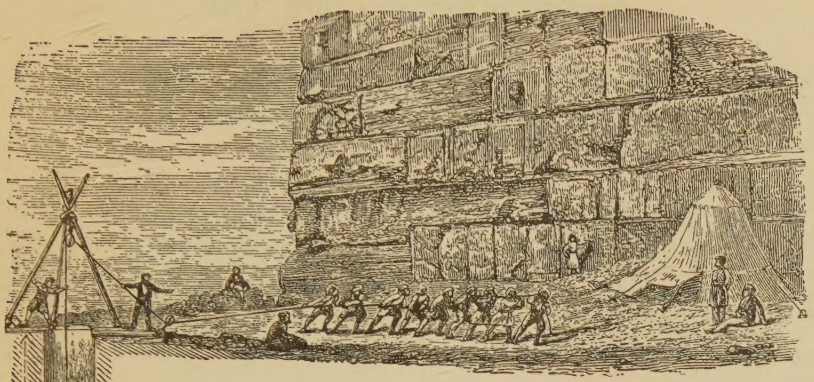

Palestine Exploration Fund

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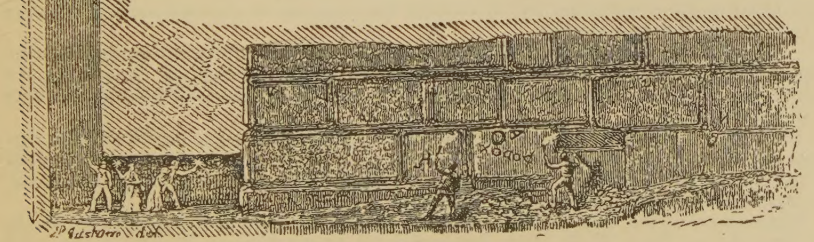

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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

Summer Closing.—The office and rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund will be closed from Monday, 9th August, reopening Thursday, 9th September.

THE WELLCOME MARSTON ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH EXPEDITION TO THE NEAR EAST. The Fifth Annual *Exhibition of Antiquities from Lachish* will be held at the Wellcome Research Institution, 183–193 Euston Road, London, N.W.1, by kind permission of the Trustees of the late Sir Henry Wellcome. The exhibition will be open from 12TH JULY TO 7TH AUGUST, from 11 to 5 o'clock daily (Bank Holiday Saturday and Monday excepted). A film of the excavations will be shown at 1.30 a.m. and 3 p.m. daily. Late evenings, when the exhibition will be open till 8 p.m. are : 13th, 21st, 29th July and 6th August. The film will be shown on these evenings at 7 o'clock.

AN EXHIBITION OF RECENT WORK OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY is being held in the rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, from July 5th to 24th, 11 a.m.–5.30 p.m. daily, including Saturdays. Open till 8 p.m. Tuesday, 6th, Wednesday, 14th and Thursday, 22nd. Admission is free.

The closing paragraph of Sir Leonard Woolley's interesting account of his first season's work in the Amk plain given in *The Times* of 12th June is of interest in relation to Dr. Forrer's recent articles in this Journal on the Hittites in Palestine. It is worth quoting : " The splendid building with the colonnade and the big house of our fourth level are definitely Hittite ; every detail of their architecture is reproduced

in later Hittite buildings, and their pottery leaves no doubt upon the point. That they should be Hittite and should date back to the sixteenth century B.C. is a fact of real historical importance. The known Syro-Hittite buildings are late, and it has generally been supposed that the capture of Aleppo by Tudkalia of Boghazkeui about 1420 B.C. marked the beginning of Hittite domination in North Syria ; a Hittite invasion of Babylonia by Hattusil late in the nineteenth century B.C. was regarded as a mere raid having no permanent consequences. Now we find the Hittites settled in North Syria long before the fifteenth century, quite possibly as a result of Hattusil's conquests ; the frequent references in the Old Testament to Hittites living in Syria and Palestine in the patriarchal age, which have often been rejected as anachronisms, may yet prove to be sound history." It may, however, be remarked that the only references to Hittites in Palestine in the patriarchal age places them in the district about Hebron. If we accept with Sir Leonard Woolley the date of Abraham in the time of Hammurabi, we should have Hittites in the south of Canaan even earlier than Hattusil's invasion of Babylonia to which he refers. This is not impossible, but awaits proof.

Some interesting conclusions may be drawn from the independent publication by Jirku and Cerny of Palestinian names in early Egyptian texts. They suggest that as early as the beginning of the second millennium B.C. a population which may be called Hebrew had a footing in the extreme south of Palestine. This agrees with the narrative of Genesis which describes the wandering and sojourn of Abraham in the south of the Negeb of Judah. Dr. Jack suggests that many of these Hebrews may have found employment in the mines of Edom and Sinai long before Jacob and his family went down into Egypt.

The results of the excavation of Ras Shamra continue to yield striking points of resemblance with Hebrew traditions. In his latest report Dr. Schaeffer describes the discovery of a jeweller's scales and weights hidden beneath the floor of his shop. The significant point is that the weights appear to be based on a talent of 3,000 shekels, which was the early Hebrew

standard, as opposed to the talent of 3,600 shekels which was the standard in Sumerian and Babylonian currency. Another interesting connection arises from the very full description of a marriage ceremony in one of the new Ras Shamra poems. We find that the Hebrew technical terms for the wedding-gift of the father to the bride and for the bride-price paid by the bridegroom occur in this text, suggesting that Hebrew marriage customs are based on ancient Canaanite usage.

Mr. Starkey has returned from his latest campaign at Tell Duweir, and gave a lecture on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the Rooms of the Fund on 18th June. See p. 171. His account of the season's work will appear in the October issue of this journal.

Semitic and Biblical studies have suffered a real loss by the death of Hans Bauer. It is sad to think that his last days should have been clouded by a controversy concerning the priority of discovery in the matter of the Ras Shamra alphabetic script. Whatever the merits of this controversy may be, there can be no doubt as to the value of the contribution made by this great scholar to Biblical studies and especially to the field of Semitic philology.

It is a pleasure to note that the Pelican series of cheap books has included among its latest issues Sir Leonard Woolley's valuable little book *Digging up the Past*, with illustrations. Another sign of the growing interest in archæological matters is the enterprise of the B.B.C. in initiating a series of popular talks on the " Archæological Background of the Old Testament," a series which was most admirably introduced by Professor Garstang. We hope that the B.B.C. will be encouraged to continue this good work.

That veteran archæologist, R. P. Vincent, has an important article in the current issue of the *Revue Biblique* on the results of the excavation of the site of the Biblical city of Ai in relation

to the narrative in Joshua. In it he refers to " *le débat véhément dans la réunion annuelle du P.E.F.*" The discussion was, perhaps, not quite so vehement as the Reverend Father imagines, but we welcome his full account of the excavational results, and his admirable statement of the case for the historicity of the Biblical narrative. It is well known that Père Vincent still adheres to the later date for the Israelite conquest of Canaan, but he maintains that the results of the excavation of Ai are compatible with the historicity of the narrative in Joshua whichever date be accepted.

The Secretary of State has ruled that the official English spelling of Arabic and Hebrew proper names shall in future conform, not to the system recommended by the Director of Education, but to the first list of Palestine names prepared by the Permanent Committee on Geographical names and adopted by the Royal Geographical Society.

The principal difference between the R.G.S. system and the spelling on Survey of Palestine maps published between 1934 and 1937 is in the use of " e " instead of " a " for many Arabic sounds. Thus " el," " tell," " jebel " are used in place of " al," " tall," " jabal," &c.

The Hebrew " tsadi " is indicated by the letter " z" instead of " ṣ."

The change back to the R.G.S. system will be made gradually as new editions are published.

As mentioned in the issue of this QUARTERLY for April, 1937, a translation has been made of Dr. Schneider's very complete account of the ancient church at Tabgha. This translation has now been published under the title " The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha, Lake of Galilee, and its Mosaics." The account is very thorough and is admirably illustrated ; there are, in fact, over seventy illustrations, of which more than forty are full page plates. The fourth-century mosaics are of singular interest and deserve the careful and expert study which they have received.

Any reader of this QUARTERLY who requires a copy should write to Mr. Eneas Mackay, 44 Craigs, Stirling, Scotland,

enclosing a postal order for 5*s*. 6*d*. It should be added that all profits arising from the sales of this book will go to Tabgha towards defraying the cost of preserving the mosaics and upkeep of the precincts.

The Department of Agriculture and Forests of the Government of Palestine has published (150 mils) its annual report for the year ending March, 1935, with an apology for its belatedness. It is a pity that it has been so long delayed, for apart from its value as a record, its usefulness has for the most part disappeared. Since the end of the period with which the report deals the department has been divided into two and there is now a separate one of forestry. Mr. M. T. Dawe, the director, writes a general review, and departmental reports dealing with agriculture, meteorology, veterinary service, forests, horticulture, entomology, sericulture, fisheries, and the Kadoorie Agricultural Schools follow. The book extends to two hundred foolscap pages. It gives a detailed account of the agricultural activities and developments in Palestine during the year with which it deals.

SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Friday, 18th June, 1937

SIR ROBERT MOND, LL.D., *in the Chair*

THE SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, W.1, on Friday, 18th June, 1937. Sir Robert Mond, LL.D., presided, and Mr. J. L. Starkey, F.S.A., lectured on "Excavations at Lachish as illustrating Bible History."

The HON. SECRETARY (Rev. C. B. Mortlock) announced apologies for absence from Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, The Rev. Canon H. Danby, Prof. J. Garstang, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Portsmouth, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Rochester, Sir George Adam Smith, and Mr. Sidney Smith.

MINUTES

The Minutes of the Seventy-first Annual Meeting, held on 26th June, 1936, were read and, having been confirmed, were signed by the Chairman.

REPORT AND ACCOUNTS

SIR CHARLES CLOSE (Chairman of Executive Committee), in moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1936, said :

Sir Robert Mond and members of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I beg to move the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for 1936. These have been printed and distributed to subscribers to the Fund, and you will, no doubt, desire that they should be taken as read.

By the death, as the result of an accident, of Lady Watson, the Fund has been deprived of the services of one who devoted much time to furthering its interests. She had been for many

years our local secretary in Palestine, and we shall feel her loss greatly. As is well known to those present, she was the widow of the late Sir Charles Watson, who had been Chairman of the Executive Committee from 1906 until his death in 1916. She survived him for twenty years. The Fund owes much to Lady Watson. Many members who have visited Jerusalem in recent years will remember the curious and interesting house in which she lived, inside the walls of the old city. It is not, I believe, as yet certain, what is to happen to this house.

As to the activities of the Fund in Palestine, they are at present devoted to the carrying out, in conjunction with the British School of Archæology, as our joint undertaking, of the Archæological Survey of the country. This work has the approval of the Government of Palestine, and, but for the recent troubles, would have received its financial support. The survey is directed by a Joint Executive Committee, of which the Bishop of Rochester is Chairman, and on this Committee each Society is equally represented. The Committee held its first meeting on 20th November, 1936. The Director of the Survey is Mr. P. L. O. Guy, the Director of the British School. At home, the Honorary Treasurer of the Survey is Colonel Newcombe, and the Honorary Secretary is Mr. Crowfoot. In fact, the administrative apparatus is all ready for use, if only we could make a definite commencement in the field. Of course, a certain amount of preliminary office work can be, and is being, done ; but the examination of sites in the field has been delayed by the unsettled state of the country.

Through the good offices of H.E. the High Commissioner, Mr. Guy has obtained temporary accommodation for the Survey in the buildings of the Dominican School. His Excellency has expressed his personal appreciation of the value of the scheme and his regret that, owing to the present situation, the Government of Palestine cannot help financially.

It is proposed to publish a Memoir for each sheet of the official map on the scale of 1 : 100,000, beginning with sheet 7, the Jaffa-Tel-Aviv sheet. The Director has made a list of some 400 known ancient sites in this area, including Gezer and Beth Shemesh. All these sites will be examined and reported upon, and, of course, any others which may be found will be similarly examined and described. Great care will be taken in the matter

of the identification of ancient remains with sites mentioned in antiquity, for instance, in the Bible.

The survey also proposes to issue special monographs one of which may deal with the period of the Crusades, another with Moslem monuments, and so on. Clearly the whole programme will require many years for its completion. Perhaps, in conclusion, I may be allowed to draw the attention of those present to two show-cases in our museum, both arranged by Mrs. Crowfoot ; one exhibits the ivories from Samaria ; and the other contains a sequence of oil lamps, beginning with the lamps of the Bronze Age, showing the development of the lamp over a period of a hundred generations. Both cases are worthy of inspection. And there is one more exhibit, which probably few have seen before, namely, the incised, winged figure of Assyrian type which was cut out by Clermont Ganneau from the ancient quarries under Jerusalem, and presented by him to the Fund in 1874. This dates from the sixth or seventh century B.C.

COLONEL NEWCOMBE (Hon. Treasurer) seconded and the Report and Accounts were unanimously adopted.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MR. G. M. FITZGERALD formally proposed the re-election of the Executive Committee as at present constituted, with the addition of Miss K. Kenyon.

MR. F. W. GREEN seconded and the motion was carried unanimously.

APPOINTMENT OF AUDITORS

Messrs. Turquand, Youngs & Co., Chartered Accountants, were unanimously re-appointed Auditors for 1937.

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—You will have noticed from the last Annual Report that we have decided—and this point has come up like a recurring decimal—to revise, on an extended scale, what we did a number of years ago when the Fund first started the survey of Palestine

under Sir Charles Wilson and Lieutenants Condor and Kitchener. That survey has grown, the technical part having been improved and worked out by the Government staff. The archæological section of the survey still requires doing, and that is going to be our task for the next few years. We have arranged, in consultation and in conjunction with the British School of Archæology at Jerusalem, to employ the Director of the School, the successor to Mr. Crowfoot, Mr. Guy, as a director of the new survey. As you have just heard from Sir Charles Close, this work is now to be taken in hand.

There is great archæological importance in survey, a subject on which I have preached for the last thirty years, and it is this : that there are archæological sites of much importance which are doomed to disappear because of the needs of living man. We cannot hold up towns or roads or anything else just because an archæological site exists. Man has to adapt himself to the country in which he lives, especially when there are a large number of people in a small country such as Palestine. Hence, it is absolutely essential that those sites which are bound to disappear should be completely and exhaustively recognized and examined beforehand, so that the knowledge which it is possible to obtain from those sites may not be lost to us for ever.

It is not so much according to the individual pleasure or fancy of the excavator that you pick and choose between the number of archæological sites or take the most interesting or most promising. What is really important is that those sites in the greatest danger of being destroyed should be chosen as those for prior examination, because once an archæological site is destroyed there are no means of putting it back again. We have seen so many examples of that. Careful archæological survey is the only means of ascertaining where those sites are. That is the job we are tackling. I am exceedingly glad that at last we are getting at it and doing it properly.

Otherwise the Fund is continuing its excavations. There have been, as you know if you have read the Annual Report, changes on our staff. Mr. Crowfoot, whose admirable work you all know, has retired to England and Mr. Guy has succeeded him. Mr. Guy, as Inspector of Antiquities in Palestine, has already a very good knowledge of what we have to do. He entered on his duties a little less than a year ago, and

he promptly devoted himself to the task of putting the library of the British School of Archæology into working order. He found there were considerable gaps and it gave me pleasure to fill a number of them. (*Applause.*) The efficiency of the work of a society such as ours depends, in the last resort, on the necessary literary evidence available on the spot.

We are going to listen this afternoon to an account by Mr. Starkey of the last campaign he has been carrying out on the site of ancient Lachish. I have visited that site and I am sorry for all those who have not also had the opportunity of visiting it. It is one of the most magnificent sites I know. A flat table-top on a rather high hill in a beautiful landscape. Below the crest of the hill there is a complete line showing where the ancient walls ran ; on top of the hill there are the remains of the ancient palace and the temples and the ancient town. It is as beautiful a site as one could possibly wish to work on.

As in the case of all important sites in Palestine which have been occupied for many years, there are successive layers of buildings, successive occupations, successive towns of different periods which all need carefully examining, carefully exploring and carefully removing, layer by layer, in order that we may discover the history and evolution of those towns. This has been systematically done at Lachish, and if you realize the care and trouble with which the work has been done and bear in mind that acres of ground have to be carefully dealt with, strip by strip, you will see that it must necessarily be a long drawn out job. The work cannot be hurried ; it must necessarily be slow.

Modern appliances facilitate the disposal of rubbish and Mr. Starkey has adopted the excellent system of building up the old system of terraces of cultivation on the slopes of the hills, so that for the amount of ground taken out of cultivation because of the excavations he is creating new ground for the benefit of the local inhabitants. As a consequence he is working in harmony with the owners of the land and the workers on it. Anybody who has any practical experience of excavation knows the fundamental importance of establishing harmonious relationship with the workpeople with whom you are concerned. It makes all the difference whether they are going to be willing helpers or robbers. There are some who always will be robbers but, on the whole, if you work in harmony

with those who are with you, I know from personal experience that it will be found that they will object to the robbers just as much as you do, and you will get the results you desire. It is entirely a question of being able to build up mutual confidence between the director and the people round about, confidence which is not difficult to obtain, but which necessitates certain characteristics. Those characteristics are, to a large extent, usually met with in most English people, an innate sense of justice and a large amount of forbearance, also the power of being able to keep one's temper. If you manage those three, then you get along fairly easily. Language and so on will be a minor detail. My own experience differs from that of some of my fellow-excavators in that I have found bribery of little avail as a help towards getting the best results. What is required is the confidence of the people and a happy spirit amongst them all. If you get that, whether you give them a little more backshish or not, makes little difference—I talk of Egypt rather than Palestine—and, as a matter of fact, I have found that by giving exaggerated backshish to certain individuals you are liable, as in England, to arouse petty jealousy rather than give general satisfaction. When you really find something very interesting and nice in Egypt it is more to the point to give all the workers a day's wage, whether they have anything to do with the find or not. That produces definite satisfaction all round, whereas if the whole sum is given to the individual who made the find—as a matter of fact, he found the object because he was told to dig at a certain place—you will probably find that everybody is intensely dissatisfied with the finder's good luck. Moreover, he will promptly go and get drunk on the strength of the reward, and that is not what you wish to contribute to.

Mr. Starkey has been during the last two years chiefly engaged in removing the Persian occupation of Lachish. He is now getting down into the Hebrew layer where he was lucky enough in 1936 to find very interesting ostraca which created quite a sensation. In the course of time, we hope to find many more, but, as I have said, the work cannot be hurried. We shall go on systematically and slowly. We made the interesting and rather fundamental discovery that people were writing Hebrew about 200 years sooner than generally thought. Moreover, the people evidently wrote it with great

fluency, which shows that it was the common language of the time and not merely that of a class It was the spoken and written language of the people about 700 to 600 B.C., about which I had been in doubt up to the time we made the find. We have also found other fragments of pots which contain letters from the early Sinaitic alphabet, one of the earliest alphabets we know. When dealing with very early alphabets every additional letter found is a great event ; a group of letters is, of course, an even greater event and renders the document a phenomenon. We are bound to find more as we go on.

The great advantage of working in such sites as Lachish is that by examining carefully the various layers we find different objects occurring together, which objects enable us to fairly reasonably estimate what was contemporaneous, what previous and what later. One can never take any object for granted. Any number of things may climb into all sorts of places and the fact that you find a very few objects where you think you ought to find many does not mean anything except that you have found the objects in question ; but when you do find a relatively fair number of objects, then you are able to employ, as in modern physics, the statistical method and by a means of a calculus of probability obtain some sort of knowledge as to whether you have found something of real value or not. Also whether the object belongs to the place in which it has been found, or has come from some other spot.

I have had disappointments in connection with some of the work I have done in Egypt. I had every reason to believe I had found a unique iron chisel of about 1500 or 1400 B.C., but the ground in which it was found was so turned over that it was impossible to say that was its place of origin. Nobody could honestly give a date to the chisel, though from the appearance of it and the way in which it was made it appears to be ancient. That is all that can be said. Those are the difficulties one meets with and which lead to disappointment. Because you happen to see photographs in the weekly papers illustrating one or two nice things that we have found does not mean that those things which look nice in a photograph in a newspaper are really the things that matter. The remarkable thing is that the more we know about matters the more the insignificant hings count.

Upper part of a square limestone fire altar, showing head and shoulders of a bearded man, with arms raised

Opposite side of square limestone fire altar, showing a right hand, palm outwards and fingers spread, in deep relief

Base of eastern tower, flanking the outer gate at Lachish, in which the Letters were found. The two upper courses are re-building on the burnt masonry of an earlier structure. Boy marks floor level and ash layer

Looking down into sounding within city gate, showing earlier roadway covered with black ash, buried under debris of brick gate towers, sealed in below upper burnt road surface of the 588 B.C. destruction. Note the superimposed drainage channels. Black line indicates upper road level

As an example, it has been found in connection with early anthropology that a careful examination of the spores of mosses in peat bogs is about as good a method of dating anything as any other means we have yet found. At the new School of Archæology founded in Regent's Park there is an extremely clever young scientist, Dr. Zeuner, who from the size of a grain of sand and small pebbles is able to work out an approximate date which, when combined with the growth of rings of trees, gives a different line of approach to establishing a chronological sequence which previously we conceived to be absolutely impossible and under any circumstances unattainable. Hence our work is beginning to be more difficult because more painstaking. We may find fewer sensational objects, but we are continually turning up more and more objects from which we are able to learn of the past. We cannot always be excavating royal palaces, but we can ascertain how ordinary people lived in the past and, to a certain extent, that is more important. That is an immense satisfaction to all who are engaged in the work. I have now much pleasure in calling on Mr. Starkey.

"LACHISH AS ILLUSTRATING BIBLE HISTORY"

By J. L. Starkey, F.S.A.
Director: Wellcome Marston Archæological Research Expedition to the Near East

Last time that I had the pleasure of addressing this meeting in 1934, we were still devoting our attention at Tell el Duweir to areas beyond the city's fortifications—preliminary work necessary to provide a clear dumping ground for the great mass of debris from the city levels.

In the two first seasons we completed the excavation of the Persian Governor's residence and a large private mansion of the same period, with the typical oriental house plan—rooms arranged round a central courtyard. Perhaps the most interesting Persian remains was a building in the north-east area of the city, which we interpret as a solar shrine. Little has been found in Judah of this period in decent preservation, and this shrine is a valuable addition to the architecture of our district under Persian control. We do not know much of the details

of the solar cult, which seems to have become popular after the return from Exile, at the time of Persian domination. In Ezekiel's vision of Israel's final destruction he says :

" Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen *this* O son of man ? Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these. And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house ; and behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east ; and they worshipped the sun toward the east." (Ezek. viii, 15, 16.)

The axis of the shrine is due east and west, and the entrance to the inner sanctuary is open to the rising sun. Neither entrance had been fitted with doors. On the flight of steps leading up to the sanctuary from the courtyard, we found a square limestone altar. On opposite sides was the figure of a man with upraised arms and a human hand in relief. A single right hand is a recognized attribute of the deity, when blessing or prospecting his votaries, while two hands raised are the usual oriental form of supplication. These symbols are found on funerary monuments elsewhere, and are almost exclusively associated with the Sun as God of Justice. We cannot date it exactly, but presume that it must represent the last phase of the re-occupied city, and may be even as late as the end of the third century B.C. A depression at the top indicates that it had been used as an incense altar, and it is but a more elaborate version of the portable votive altars of chalk stone, a large number of which were found in a cache in the saddle area, north of our camphouse.

The Persian levels of the road running up to the gate were cleared, together with the ruins of the gateways, which we see now were shoddily built on the foundations of the pre-exilic structures. It was on the road level below, that we first encountered the evidence that our city had been completely ravaged by fire. The road had been constructed of small stone rubbish and of brickwork from burnt buildings, and the whole surface had been burnt red to some depth.

For just how long Lachish remained a derelict city we have no direct evidence, but in Neh. xi, 30 we read that various cities were re-occupied by the returning exiles :

" Zanoah, Adullam, and in their villages, at Lachish, and

the fields thereof, at Azeqah, and in the villages thereof. And they dwelt from Beersheba unto the valley of Hinnom."

From our recent work in the city levels it becomes emphasized that the city had utterly fulfilled the predictions of the prophet (Mic. vii, 13) " . . . the land shall be desolate because of them that dwell therein, for the fruit of their doings."

One of the most prominent figures in Judah's history, who remained for a short time after the cream of the professional and ruling classes had been sent into Captivity, was Gedaliah, son of Ahikam, whose short lived control during the earliest days of this intervening period, we are reminded of by the clay seal impression inscribed :

" For Gedaliah, He who is over the House."

(See QUARTERLY STATEMENT, October, 1935, pages 11 and 195).

Although we have no direct evidence that Gedaliah, the owner of the Tell el Duweir seal, is identical with Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, there is every probability to assume it. He had always favoured the alliance with Babylon and his end is recorded in 2 Kings xxv, 24, 25 " And Gedaliah sware to them, and to their men, and said to them ' Fear not to be the servants of Chaldees : dwell in the land, and serve the King of Babylon, and it shall be well with you.' But it came to pass in the seventh month, that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed royal, came, and ten men with him, and smote Gedaliah, that he died, and the Jews and the Chaldees that were with him at Mizpah."

I am indebted to Dr. Ben-Dor of the Palestine Museum for the following notes on the Overseer of the Palace :

The title " *'asher 'al habbayit*" or " He who is over the House," is met with seven times in the Old Testament. In all cases but one, " *habbayit* " refers to the Royal House. The only exception is Gen. xliv, 1, where the title is applied the Overseer of the House of Joseph in Egypt. But here we have the possessive suffix " *beyto* "—his house, which is omitted in all the other cases where " *habbayit* " means " the house " *par excellence*, i.e., the Royal Palace.

The bearer of this title belongs to the highest dignitaries of the state. He is a member of the highest council, and under Solomon, he is listed among the eleven ministers " *Hassarim asher lo* "—" the princes which he had " who help the king to administer the country. (1 Kings iv, 2–6). He maintains

personal relations with the king, and Elah, King of Israel, is killed by Zimri while he is banqueting in the house of Arza, the Overseer of the Palace. (1 Kings xvi, 9.)

The Overseer of the House was present whenever the king had to send an official mission, be it concerning an internal affair, like the mission of Hezekiah to the prophet Isaiah (2 Kings xix, 2), or in the case of a diplomatic mission to a representative of a foreign power, like the embassy of Hezekiah to Rabshakeh, the Commander-in-Chief of Sennacherib's army, whom the latter had sent from Lachish in order to lay siege to Jerusalem. (Isa. xxxvi, 3.) This embassy consisted of Eliakim, the Overseer of the House, Shebna the Scribe and Joah the Secretary. It is obvious from the text that Eliakim was the head of the party and the chief speaker.

The office was also conferred upon the hereditary prince, like in the case of Jotham, who administers the country while his father Azariah is ill with leprosy. (2 Kings xv, 5.) It is just possible that the office of the Overseer of the House implied the regency of its holder for the time that the king was unable to perform his duties, and that Azariah had entrusted his son with this office, for fear that the regency should pass to an outsider, who would have to get it if he were nominated Overseer of the House.

From Isaiah xxii, 21, we learn about the insignia of the Overseer—a special robe and girdle. The following verses of the same chapter show us the full extent and the importance of his position : " and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah. And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder ; so he shall open, and none shall shut ; and he shall shut and none shall open."

It will be remembered that it was following the clearance of the Persian structures that we came upon the inscribed sherds underneath the foundation courses of the remaining Persian tower, flanking the outer gate. As you are aware, Professor Torczyner's study of these inscriptions has not only made clear their historical importance, but has revealed their special value to us in the identity of our city with an ancient fortress of Judah.

Letter IV, a message presumably from a man in charge of a military outpost, states in his concluding sentence :

" . . . we are watching the signal stations of Lachish,

according to all the signals which you are giving, because we cannot see the signals of Azeqah."

Here then is the first piece of contemporary literary evidence, confirming the assumption that Tell Duweir marks the ruin of that great fortress which figures so prominently in the tragedies of Judah, as recorded in the Old Testament.

I don't propose to speak of the texts of the Lachish Letters, as we have hope that Prof. Torczyner's exhaustive discussion will soon be in your hands, but rather the historical horizon to which they belong, particularly to the date of the burnt level in which they were found.

It is, however, in Letter III that the first serious problem regarding their date is met with. The reference to the commander-in-Chief, Achbor the son of Elnatan, in which the writer tells us of his going down into Egypt, and in the following sentence refers to a warning letter that the prophet has sent to a friend by the hand of one Nedabiah, a relation of the King, leads Prof. Torczyner to the conviction that the " open-eyed one " or " Seer," mentioned here and elsewhere in the Lachish Letters, can be no other than the prophet Urijah, who, according to the Biblical account in Jer. xxvi, was put to death by King Jehoiakim.

The following season's work, gave the first suspicion that Lachish had been twice destroyed by fire within its last decade, and it was therefore obvious that a matter of first importance was to determine to which of these two burnings the ashes in which the Letters were found actually belonged. We have now corroborative evidence from three special areas, confirming that the small square chamber of the Letters belongs to the final rebuilding of the gate complex.

1. As soon as we removed the eastern half of the plastered floor, underlying the rough flagstones, large blocks of masonry were revealed with masses of loose burnt brickwork, and it is upon similarly damaged walling that the walls of the chamber are founded.

2. After the removal of the Persian residency, we exposed the beaten chalk floors of the last Jewish Palace-Fort—these were mostly still covered by a thick carbon deposit, while other plastered areas showed varying hues from black to blue-grey —evidence of the intense heat to which they had been subjected. The walls of this fort had all been demolished to floor

level by the Persian builders, but the upper surfaces of their foundation courses show the limestone blocks rent by thermal fractures and discoloured by heat. Where we have seen below these plastered floors, precisely the same conditions prevail, as we have already noted under the gate room of the Letters.

3. This season we have extended our work within the city gate, and on the higher ground to the east we have come down upon the chalk surface of the ancient roadway, which descends steeply as it nears the threshold of the inner gate. At this point we have cut a sounding down from the upper burnt road level and passing through a mass of collapsed brickwork and lime plaster, all burnt and mixed with charcoal particles, we have at a depth of eight feet come down upon the well-laid stone sill from which the chalk surfaced road begins.

A thick layer of black ashes not only covered the whole area exposed, but was also found blocking the channel of the drainage trench, which passes out at this point under the gateway, just below a similar drain, which belongs to the upper road level, whose fired surface marks the final destruction of the city, which we have all along assigned to the last attack of the Babylonians in 588 B.C., when Zedekiah was besieged in Jerusalem :

" When the king of Babylon's army fought against Jerusalem, and against all the cities of Judah that were left, against Lachish and against Azeqah: for these defenced cities remained of the cities of Judah." (Jer. xxxiv, 7.)

Although at this point we have eight feet of deposit between the two burnt road surfaces, nevertheless it is certain that the two levels can only be separated by a few years, vouched for by the fact that the pottery from both layers is homogeneous. It is most fortunate that we have at this point of the main road such a clear differentiation between the two surfaces ; owing to the destruction of the flanking gate towers, the gateway became choked with a mass of brickwork and plaster, thus damming up this natural drainage level of the southern half of the city. Certainly the road passing through the gate was always a sunken area. Against this piled mass the water-laid deposits accumulated and are clearly seen in the southern scarp of this sounding.

In view of these three pieces of independent stratigraphical evidence, which are further corroborated by other

points in our recent work within the city, and the presence of the Gedaliah seal—exclusive of traditional history—there can no longer be any doubt that the gate or court room containing the Letters, belongs to the last rebuilding of the city between the two Babylonian attacks, and that the ashes are due to the final onslaught in Zedekiah's reign.

Lachish then, provides the first tangible evidence of the two captivities, which are so difficult to separate in the written narrative.

As I have mentioned the seal impression, it will not be out of place to refer to a carnelian gem found this spring, below the north-east corner of the mound, an area that we have just begun to clear, sweeping upwards from the valley to the level of the Hyksos moat. Here, as elsewhere outside the city, the rock is honeycombed with tomb chambers ranging from Byzantine to Middle Bronze Age.

The seal is of the usual plain scaraboid form, beautifully polished and the stone selected is the white and red banded variety of quartz. The underside is divided into three registers with usual narrow double bands, which must, I think, in the case of these Jewish seals represent the ties of thread used for securing the document and which as we know from sealing our own registered packets, always stand up in relief, bisecting our wax seal. In the upper register is the figure of the winged serpent, facing an "ankh" or life sign. The lower registers bear an inscription in Hebrew characters which reads "For Shefaṭyahu Asyahu."

This seal adds two interesting personal names to our collection, compounded with the name of Yhwh, and both occur in the Old Testament or on seals; by the type and character of the letters, we should date it to about 600 B.C. It should be noted with interest that the pagan emblems are used here by a man bearing an orthodox name, and if we are to take the second name as the name of the father, heathen sympathies persist even through two generations who appear to be orthodox followers of Yhwh.

This seal has a special value for the study of Hebrew palæography, as in the name Shefaṭyahu we see a perfect "teth," the first example of the lapidary's style.

That Lachish was traditionally a stronghold of heathen practices is attested by more than one reference in the Bible.

Owing to its reputation, it figures as the site of an important historical event—the political murder of Amaziah.

" Now after the time that Amaziah did turn away from following the Lord, they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem : and he fled to Lachish, but they sent to Lachish after him and slew him there." (2 Chron. xxv, 27, and 2 Kings xiv, 19.)

In tomb groups, seventh to sixth century B.C., amulets of Egyptian deities are commonly found, showing the confidence that the masses had in the household Gods of Egypt, Bes, Ptah-Soker, Isis with Horus, Bast and the thoughtful ape, as popular then as he is to-day throughout the world.

They show the preponderance of Egyptian thought, but the northern and indigenous manifestation of the Mother Goddess was also very popular, and grew in importance when Egyptian contacts waned at the end of the Judæan kingdom. The pottery figurines of the Queen of Heaven with the doves, are always of local manufacture.

" Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem ? The children gather wood and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out drink offerings to other gods, that they may provoke me to anger." (Jer. vii, 18.)

So far we have seen no signs of a temple or shrine in the upper levels which we have been examining this year, and the only building for public worship, exposed so far, is the late Bronze Age temple built in the abandoned Hyksos moat, below the north-west corner, where so many ritual vessels were found, lying in front of the altar, on either side of which stood the tall libation stand and the large bin for the meat offerings. This great pottery vessel has now been restored by the Museum in Jerusalem, and stands just over three feet.

It is to this last lay-out of the temple that the Duweir Ewer belongs, which has now been partially reconstructed, fragments of the decorated rim have been built up into position, and we still hope to find further fragments and enough of the handle to enable the form to be restored. There were altogether three levels of this ruin, and a characteristic feature of the middle level, which we date to the reign of Amenhetep III, 1420–1335 B.C. was the prevalence of the chalice or goblet,

usually decorated in red or red and black. These specimens have recently been put on show in the newly arranged Bronze Age gallery in the Palestine Museum. For these last three slides I am indebted to the Department of Antiquities.

I have again to acknowledge the great debt of gratitude the Expedition owes to the support of the Trustees of the late Sir Henry Wellcome and to Sir Charles Marston and to Sir Robert Mond, for making it possible to continue both our archæological work at Lachish and our geological research at Bethlehem.

Vote of Thanks

Mr. J. W. Crowfoot felt sure all present would agree that they had been very fortunate in being able to listen to two such addresses as those from Sir Robert Mond and Mr. Starkey. The Palestine Exploration Fund had had many Chairmen at its annual meetings, but Mr. Crowfoot doubted whether there had ever been one who had taken such a practical part in so many excavations as had Sir Robert Mond. He had spent a great portion of his life not only in financing, but in following on the spot the work of the Egypt Exploration Society in Egypt. Sir Robert had stressed the slowness with which the work done by the Fund must necessarily be carried out if scientific results were to be attained. Members would have gathered the same lesson from what Mr. Starkey had said. His fifth season at Lachish had not been so sensational in its results as some of those which had preceded it, especially the season in which the ostraca were found, but it did give valuable chronological evidence without which, of course, the full fruit of the earlier work would have been lost. Another evidence of the slowness of work and the uncertainty of the reward in any particular season was seen in Palestine in the wonderful finds made at Megiddo. There work had been going on on a very large scale for probably fifteen years, but very little had been found ; then suddenly, some of the most wonderful things were discovered—gold ornaments and masses of ivory. It was with great pleasure that he proposed a most hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lecturer for their interesting contributions.

Mr. Hyamson seconded the proposition, and the vote of thanks having been accorded amid hearty acclamation, the proceedings terminated.

THE PALESTINO-SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS

By S. Yeivin

I.

A Palestinian Letter to the Dead?
(*A New Lachish Ostracon*)

It is only natural that in the great excitement over the very remarkable Lachish letters of the last days of the Judæan kingdom, the more modest find of a broken bowl with a fragmentary inscription in the now well authenticated Palestino-Sinaitic script raised less comment than was to be expected.[1]

This broken bowl was found in a tomb dating to the LB II

[1] As far as the author knows, the only published notices concerned with this inscription are, apart from a short mention in Starkey's report Q.S. '35, p. 202, two letters to the Editor of *The Times*; the first written by Professor Langdon (*The Times* of 5th October, 1935) puts forward such a wildly improbable theory of decipherment, that it is outside the pale of scientific discussion; the second an answer by Professor Driver (*The Times* of 10th October, 1935) is not available here.

After the completion of the first draft of this article (6.2.36), a notice on the excavations of Tell-d-Duweir appeared in *Syria* XVI-4 (December, 1935), pp. 418 foll., to which *R(ené) D(ussaud)* appends (note 1 on p. 419) a suggested reading of this ostracon. He follows H. Bauer, who wrote to him under the date of 27th August, 1935, that he reads the first word בשלשת; he also rightly recognizes certain other facts (see below), but his interpretation is impossible. No Semitist would for a moment even consider such a construction as בשלשת ימ.ירח to be translated "au troisième jour du mois . . ."

See also Albright, BASOR No. 60, p. 5, note 5, who mentions the suggested reading of the first word בשלשת. This reading was put forward by both Dr. H. L. Ginsberg and the author on the occasion of their visit to Tell-d-Duweir on 15.2.35 (see note 6 below). Starkey, however, in a written communication dated 19th March, 1936, informs the author that this reading was suggested by Mr. L. G. Harding "the day after the discovery of the bowl, who at the same time suggested the last letter was ח, and the sixth either ' or פ."

period [2] on the S.W. slope of the natural hillock, on which the city was built, immediately to the S.W. of the town. The bowl, with a flat disc-base, is typical of this period (LB), and bears a legend in white paint (?) or (hardly) chalk (?) in the now famous Palestinian variety of the Proto-Sinaitic script.

It is the author's opinion that the inscription contains two complete words and the beginning (more exactly the first two letters) of a third ; a break in the bowl had destroyed the rest of the inscription. In the lower left-hand corner of Fig. 1 are to be seen faint traces of signs (?) in the same white paint (?). Is it possible that the legend wound spirally round the body of the bowl ending in these faint traces ? A new examination of the bowl may reveal some more signs. [3]

However, as matters stand at present, one can deal only with those signs visible now between the beginning of the inscription and the break in the bowl. These include several new signs. The first does not present any difficulty. It is, no doubt, a ב (*b* ; *cf.* the South-Arabian 𐩱), so that the first word is to be read בשלשת (*bšlšt*), good Semitic, which by the way gives also the direction of the new inscription : from r. to l. [4] This word is followed by a word-divider (a thick and

[2] See Q.S. '35, p. 202 (date of the bowl). In the above mentioned communication Starkey says, that the tomb contained " in addition to the bowl ten other forms of pottery . . . , all well known to archæologists as dating to the LB II period."

[3] My attention was first drawn to these faint marks by Dr. M. Stekelis, when I showed him the photograph of the bowl ; but Starkey writes in the above mentioned letter : " The break in the bowl has not destroyed any of the legend ; it ends with the letter ת ; the traces of white seen are remains of the lime used in repairing the crack." The author still holds the opinion that the inscription continued on the part now missing. As to the traces of paint (?) Harding reiterated orally with all assurance (on our visit to Tell^{l}-d-Duweir, on 12th April, 1935) the statement made in Starkey's letter.

[4] Properly speaking this inscription was written from top to bottom ; *i.e.* the writer was holding the bowl sideways (base to his l., rim to his r.) and writing downwards. This, by the way, was the original procedure in scripts all over the world : Egyptian hieroglyphic (all O. K. papyri and in some cases later), all early cuneiform documents, Chinese hieroglyphs, the majority of Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (see J. Leibovitch, *Les inscriptions protosinaïtiques*, pp. 65 foll.). This fact has been amply proved by the late Professor K. H. Sethe in his course " *Vom Bild zum Buchstaben* " read at the Berlin University in the winter semester 1928–9 (so far unpublished, as far as I know). A careful examination of our inscription shows that the signs were traced from

short vertical stroke). The next sign is new. All transcribers and decipherers, who have dealt with the ostracon so far, have assumed that this and the third sign following it are similar, that the next sign following it is more or less like a *š*, and that the second sign after it consists of a horizontal " wiggle " starting at the bottom of the so-called *š* and extending below the supposedly equal third sign.[5] Practically everybody agreed that the last sign was a ח (*ḥ*), but the one before it was misdeciphered by the finders as a longish vertical stroke slightly biforked at its lower end. It seems that this sketch led astray intending interpreters (see Fig. 3).

The author had the opportunity to examine the original bowl, quite closely, soon after its discovery.[6] Then already he formed the opinion that the first and fourth letters of the second word were not similar, and that the second and the third signs were to be quite differently reconstructed. A close examination of the photographic prints kindly supplied by Mr. Starkey confirmed the first impression. It seems to the author that the r. part of the " wiggle " (third letter of the second word) is to be connected with the remains of the second letter, above it, which will thus no longer resemble a *š*, as in the sketch drawn by the finders, but a מ (*m*). A similar *m* is to be found on the reverse of the Beth Shemesh ostracon (second letter from the r. in the first line, not counting the dots above it).[7] Part of the long tail of the " wiggle " is to

top to bottom and from r. to l. ; thus, e.g., the first character was written ; the third

It is just barely possible, that the inscription on the Duweir Ewer (see *JPOS* XV, pp. 98 foll.), too, was written the same way ; though in that case one will have to assume that it has been written backwards (from the end towards the beginning ?).

[5] This theory of deciphering was embodied by the finders in the sketch (see Fig. 3), with a photograph of which together with photographs of the bowl itself Mr. Starkey very kindly supplied me. For this favour I wish to express my sincerest thanks. To this statement Starkey remarks in his above mentioned letter : " The sketch does not transliterate anything ; it is merely a picture of what is there." However, the author seems to see there in some cases different traces.

[6] On a visit paid to the excavations, together with Drs. Ginsberg and Maisler on 15th and 16th February, 1935, on Mr. Starkey's kind invitation.

[7] See E. GRANT, *Ain-Shems Excavations* I, pl. X and *BJPES* II 3–4, pp. 7–9. For amended readings see below, pp. 6 foll. and Fig. 7.

be connected with the slanting stroke above it, thus forming an acute angle, which cannot fail to remind us of a ג (*g*). The top eye of the fourth sign together with its curved tail (the last part of the "wiggle") suggest two possibilities, either פ (*p*; *cf.* the Hebræo-Phœnician), or ר (*r*; a cursive form of the Proto-Sinaitic). Since a Semitic root מגפ (*mgf*) is unknown, whereas מגר (*mgr*) is a perfectly reasonable Semitic triliteral, the latter alternative is preferable.[8] There remains yet the first letter of the second word. Judging by its shape it can only be either י (*y*) or ו (*w*). Since a verb is expected, preference is to be given to *y*, to which interpretation the sign, too, lends itself more readily both as to form (a hand seen in profile with the thumb opposed to the four fingers) as well as to palæographic relations (with the later of the Hebræo-Phœnician alphabet). After the fourth sign there are traces of a word-divider. Thus the second word, composed of four letters, is to be read ימגר (*ymgr*). Of the third word we have only the first two letters. The second is undoubtedly a ח (*ḥ*)[9], the first may be an imperfect צ (; *ẓ*) or צ (; *ṣ*). These may possibly represent the beginning of a n. pr. per.

The whole inscription is to be read :..."ת[צ or]צ וְמַגֵּר "בַּשְּׁלִשִׁת "A third time may NN overthrow....." or "A third time may (he) overthrow NN....," which sounds a little incongruous on a bowl found in a tomb, until we realize the full intent and purpose of the bowl and the inscription it bears.

The inscription becomes intelligible assuming it to be a Palestinian parallel to the well-known Egyptian "Letters to the Dead."[10] Could not some challenger be desirous of ensuring his success by means of a timely intercession with a deity

[8] Harding assures me, in an oral communication, that this letter is open on top, and what I took to be the closing of the loop is really limestone grit in the fabric of the bowl. It is still possible that the closing of the loop was badly defaced in the course of time, for the horizontal strokes of the sign do not resemble the bold endings of the first sign of this second word; see below.

[9] *Cf.* the Beth-Shemesh ostracon, first letter of the second line of the reverse. For literature, see Note 7.

[10] *Cf.* A. H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead.*

on the part of some deceased relative ?[11] "May NN overthrow for a third time [his rival XX—or something similar]" would make quite good sense under the circumstances.

II.

The Chronology of the Palestino-Sinaitic Ostraca

With this ostracon (Lachish—II, to distinguish it from Lachish—I, the inscription on the ewer found during season 1933–4) the number of published ostraca in the pre- or proto-Israelite script of the country rises to five, namely : the Tell^{i}-l-Ḥesi ostracon, the Gezer ostracon, the Beth-Shemesh ostracon, Lachish—I, and Lachish—II.

Apart from these five published documents, one more in this script was recently uncovered at Shechem[12], which find extends the territory of the script considerably, both northwards and eastwards. All previous documents came from a comparatively small district in the central part of the coastal plain included in an approximate trapeze, the bases of which are almost parallel lines running from Gezer to Tell^{i}-l-Ḥesi on the west and from Beth-Shemesh to Lachish on the east.

The majority of the documents have either been found *in-sitû* in archæological contexts, which enable us to assign them almost definite dates, or else bear intrinsic dating evidence. The only questionable fragment from the point of view of dating is the Beth-Shemesh ostracon (see below). The new Shechem fragment (stone) is reported to have been found in a house of the MB period, which contained among other things a juglet of the Tell^{i}-l-Yahûdiyyeh type of ware.[12] The

[11] Such a challenge-duel is very realistically described in the story of Sinuhe ; the challenge and the duel, by the way, take place, if not in Palestine proper, at any rate on its borders in the land of בני־קדם. *Cf.* e.g., my Hebrew translation 20 – 18″עע, מגלות פ״צ, מגלת ישׂאנהת

[12] See Alt, *PJB* '35, p. 6. Though described there as "Hieroglypheninschrift," the inscription in question is a very archaic form of the Palestino-Sinaitic script.

No further discussion of the document is possible before its publication by the finders, which—it is to be hoped—will take place in the nearest future.

Shechem fragment may, therefore, be provisionally assigned to the eighteenth-seventeenth centuries B.C.[13]

Another fragment found in a stratified archæological context is the Tell -l-Ḥesi ostracon. According to its finder: "Near the top of City IV was found the fragment of a plate, No. 194, with the three Phoenician letters. The furred edges of the incisions show that the letters were made before baking. Professor Sayce reads them בלע, 'swallow,' an appropriate legend for a dish. The form of the ב is peculiar. Near by was found a stamped jar-handle inscribed in hieroglyph, 'The Palace of Ra-aa-Kheperu,' viz., Amenhotep II."[14] Overlooking the plate stamped with the name of Amenhotep II (1447–1422 B.C.), which may be a survival of earlier times, the whole context of the stratum is so obviously LB II, that a fragment coming even from the top of this stratum cannot be later than the thirteenth century B.C.[15] However, on comparison with the two Lachish ostraca (definitely dated to the thirteenth century B.C.) this fragment cannot be later than the fourteenth century B.C.

Of the two Lachish ostraca, the ewer and the bowl, the former was found in the débris originally thrown out of the small Egyptian temple outside the precincts of the city, to

Since this article has been written the author found on his visit to Tell^{i}-d-Duweir on 12th April, 1936, that a third document in the same script was unearthed there in a tomb of the LB period, thus raising the number of documents in this script to *seven*. The author wishes to thank Mr. Starkey for the permission to mention this new find. The latter, by the way, proves that the author's way of reading Lachish-I (r. to l.) was correct. A detailed discussion of all points connected with the new find will be possible as soon as it is published by the finders.

[13] On the date of the Tell^{i}-l-Yahûdiyyeh ware see now ALBRIGHT, *AASOR* XIII, pp. 78–9. Starkey, too, stated in an oral communication to the author that his experience at Tell^{i}-d-Duweir seems to suggest that the Tell^{i}-l-Yahûdiyyeh ware appeared sometime before the Hyksos invasion.

[14] See F. J. BLISS, *A Mound of many Cities*, pp. 88–9 and Fig. 194 on p. 88.

[15] The pottery from this stratum shown *ibid.*, pls. IV–V is very obviously LB II: Cypriote "milk-bowls" with wish-bone-handles, black "bilbils," red burnished juglets with pointed bases and one handle, and other characteristic types. The lamps featured *ibid.*, Fig. 174, as well as the Egyptian scarabs and Syro-Hittite seals also confirm this dating (*Cf.* A. ROWE, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* I, pls. 34 (1–2) and 36; also G. M. FITZGERALD, *do.* II, pls. XLVII–XLVIII).

the south-west. Since, however, " a fragment of the decorated shoulder of the ewer comes from a collection of shards found on the plastered floor and blackened by the fire in the sanctuary," as Starkey points out " this seems to be good evidence that the vessel could not have been thrown on to the rubbish pit long before the temple destruction and further it was actually in use in the sanctuary."[16] The temple seems to have been destroyed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century B.C.[17] while the shape and decoration of the ewer agree with the later phase of the LB period ; it appears, therefore, that this inscription may be dated to the first half of the thirteenth century B.C.

Lachish—II was found in a tomb (see above, p. 180 and Notes 1 and 2), which contained according to Starkey[18] definite LB II material, while the bowl itself is a shape common enough throughout the whole LB period. However, the shape of some letters seems to suggest a date later than Lachish—I (*cf.*, e.g., the מ of the two ostraca). It would not be impossible to assign it a date sometime towards the end of the thirteenth century B.C.

The other two ostraca were found under circumstances, which rendered dating by the archæological context rather doubtful, so that their dates must be mainly fixed intrinsically.

As yet we know but very little of the palæography of this script to make it a decisive criterion ; however, some characteristics are quite obvious.

In the case of the Gezer ostracon, the fact that the characters were incised in the clay before baking make the inscription contemporaneous with the vessel, and this was definitely dated by three different authorities, who—moreover—did not know beforehand of one another's opinion, to the MB period.[19]

[16] The quotations are from a note of Starkey's, published in the *Proceedings of the London Session of the Congrès international des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques*, 1934, with a typewritten copy of which Starkey very kindly supplied me.

[17] See J. L. Starkey, *Excavations at Tell-el-Duweir*, 1933–4, Q.S. 1934, p. 174.

[18] See Note 2 above.

[19] On the circumstances of finding see Taylor, *JPOS* 1930 (X), pp. 16 foll. The dating of the fabric of the shard is fully discussed by Albright, *BASOR* No. 58, pp. 28–9. Dr. H. L. Ginsberg, in a written communication of

The only other document dated to the same period (MB) is the Shechem fragment. Since in both cases the dating is supported by the very archaic shape of the letters, which closely resemble their prototypes in the Proto-Sinaitic signary,[20] we may accept the above dating for the Gezer ostracon (pre-sixteenth century B.C.).

There remains yet the Beth-Shemesh ostracon. All authorities that examined it as a specimen of pottery agree that it belongs to the late MB ware,[21] but since it is inscribed in black ink there is no evidence, *ipso facto*, as in the case of the Gezer and Tell-l-Ḥesi ostraca, that the shard and the inscription are contemporaneous. The author has failed to find in Grant's publications any allusion to data relating to the circumstances under which this ostracon had been found.[22] It is true that Vincent declares : " Je suis en mesure d'ajouter aujourd'hui pour mon compte que le tesson, classé nettement par sa technique au Bronze IIévol ué, fut recueilli dans une couche où n'apparaissait aucun indice caractéristique du Bronze III évolué. . . . "[23] Further on he adds : " . . . fait dûment controllé de la trouvaille du tesson parmi des débris non bouleversés de la phase initiale du Bronze III."[24]

However, Vincent apparently took Grant's assertion for it ;

7th May, of 1936, proposes to read this לגלב ([l] klb). For the shape of the ל *cf.* the ל in the Proto-Sinaitic בעלת, J. LEIBOVITCH, *op. cit.*, Fig. 30 (inscription No. 352, line 3 from the r.).

[20] See J. LEIBOVITCH, *op. cit.*, pl. III, following p. 59.

[21] See H. L. VINCENT, *RB* 1932 (XLI), pp. 217 foll., and ALBRIGHT, *BASOR* No. 58, pp. 28 foll.

[22] After a prolonged search, in which he was kindly assisted by Mr. M. Avi-Yonah of the Palestine Department of Antiquities (whom he wishes to thank most sincerely), the author found but two fleeting allusions to the ostracon in E. GRANT, *Ain-Shems Excavations* I : (1) on p. 30 it is stated that the ostracon was found in L(evel) IV. (2) in the register of objects at the end of the volume the following entry alludes to the ostracon : " Y–31–1699 ostracon, Semitic inscription both sides, v. pl. X, W.F.A.A.P., p. 50 (this wild abbreviation probably alludes to W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The Archæology of Palestine and the Bible*)."

On the plans L(evel) IV is stated to be LB.

This meagre information is not sufficient to establish the archæological context, since accompanying objects or general contents of the level at this particular spot (Y–31) are nowhere described.

[23] See VINCENT, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

[24] IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 219.

and as it is quite clear from Grant's diary that not only was he frequently absent from the actual place of excavations, but often no member of the scientific staff supervised digging-operations,[25] it is quite possible that he took the mistaken opinion of the workmen, who found it, as gospel truth. Every archæologist, who knows what fieldwork is like, knows how frequently workmen try to deceive members of the scientific staff for a variety of reasons (fear, greed for *bakhsheesh*, &c.).[26] So that the archæological context in which this ostracon was found is rather doubtful. Our only guide in this matter is, therefore, the palæography of the inscription itself. But first it would be advisable to try and decipher the legend.[27]

Professor H. Grimme has lately published a lengthy article on the subject.[28] In this article he puts forward a highly improbable theory, that the ostracon is to be read boustrophedon-wise and in two parts.[29] He then proceeds to give a full transliteration and translation, which, in the author's opinion, are based on several quite unlikely assumptions.

It was, therefore, desirable to make a fresh examination of the ostracon itself. The Department of Antiquities of the Government of Palestine very kindly allowed the author access to the ostracon, and also supplied the photographs of both its obverse and reverse published here as Figs. 5 and 6.[30]

However, before proceeding it is necessary to make a general statement. In all publications of the ostracon, so far,

[25] See GRANT, *op. cit.* I, pp. 63, 64, 65.

[26] In some cases it is well known that objects were concealed by workmen, who found them, in the mistaken hope of subsequently disposing of them to dealers at extravagant prices. Not obtaining the price they expected on the market the workmen returned the objects, and rediscovered them at totally different places still hoping to receive a *bakhsheesh* better than the price offered by dealers.

[27] I take it that Vincent has given up his conjecture that the inscription is hieratic (*RB* 1932, pp. 217 foll.), and will not deal with this hypothesis here.

[28] H. GRIMME, *Die altkanaanäische Buchstabenschrift zwischen* 1500 *und* 1250 *v. Ch.*, *Arch. f. OF* 1935, pp. 267–81.

[29] See especially *ibid.*, pp. 270 foll.

[30] The author wishes to thank the Director of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, for the kind permission to examine the ostracon and publish the accompanying photographs, and Mr. Shweig of the same Department for the very excellent photographs he took of this ostracon.

the obverse had been turned upside down.[31] In our attempts at transliteration of ancient documents we are apt to be too easily and quite unconsciously misled by our present-day methods of writing and reading. The reverse of the Beth-Shemesh ostracon is quite clear; what was more natural, therefore, than to turn the ostracon the way we turn a leaf of a book, and to try and decipher the greatly obliterated obverse as if it was written the same way up? However, a careful examination of the obverse shows that this method is not correct. The obverse is really inscribed in the opposite direction as far as top and bottom are concerned. The ostracon is to be turned like the pages of a modern block-note (without tearing out the leaves). That this *is* so, is proved not only by the shape of the ל (*l*), but by the dot of the ח (*ḥ*), too, which appears on the reverse under the letter and should consequently appear also on the obverse in the same relation to the letter. This evidence is further strengthened by the reading of the last word (on the obverse) לעקאחז (see below), for it is absurd to assume that the reverse is to be read from r. to l., while the obverse is to be read in the opposite direction.[32]

We can now attack the transliteration. The bad conservation of the obverse is due to the fact that the surface of the pot had been once covered with a whitish wash, which prevented the ink from penetrating deeply into the fabric. Now that the wash has mostly peeled off, only very faint traces of the writing remain visible. Of the three lines containing letters only the lowest is clear, reading from r. to l.: לעקאחז (see Fig. 7). The last letter is doubtful, since only a part of it is preserved, the ostracon being slightly broken along this border (left).[33]

[31] See VINCENT, *RB* 1930, pp. 401–2 and pl. XV; GRANT, *Ain-Shems Excavations* I, pl. X; GRIMME, *Arch. f. OF*, p. 271.

[32] The author had already propounded this theory in his first attempt of decipherment published as a preliminary notice in the *BǰPES* 1934 (II 3–4), pp. 7–9. Meanwhile the discovery of the Lachish ostraca of the last days of the Judaean kingdom, written the same way, has confirmed this hypothesis; see כנסת 1935, pls. II (letter III, obv.), III–1 (letter III, rev.), IV–1 (letter IV, obv.) and IV–2 (letter IV, rev.) all unnumbered, but following p. 376.

[33] The dark patch in the lower l. hand corner is not a trace of writing but a chip in the ostracon, which is broken along the whole lower half of the l. border.

In the line above it, again from r. to l., one can discern אטה[?]זה, the last letter being again doubtful for the same reason.

Above this line, there is a line of dots and a "comma"-like sign, which occurs again on the reverse (see below). These dots are placed in the following manner: five dots are arranged in two triangles followed by the "coma" (above the first three letters of the line below, counting from the r.): ⁘; two more dots, in a diagonal line, are placed above the last letters :·.

The line above this contains again letters, of which only the last one (on the l.) is clear: נ (*n*). Before it an unknown sign is visible ל, preceded by faint remains of two more letters.

At the top of the ostracon one can just make out the very faint traces of two dots followed by a "comma": ⁖

The reverse, which was never covered by a wash, is much clearer; the top line consists of three dots placed in a straight line, followed by a "comma"; the second line reads, from r. to l., גמען; and the third line: חנן, with a dot under the ח (ḥ) on the l.

Under the circumstances it seems that only one interpretation is justified; namely, that the ostracon contains a list of names with indications of numbers against some of them.

Taking the reverse first, we have two perfectly good Semitic names: (1) גמען, from the root גמע (*gmʿ*)—to sip, to swallow, built on the paradigm of חֻמְדָן (Gen. xxxvi. 26), בלהָן (Gen. xxxvi. 27), יִתְרָן (Gen. xxxvi. 26), all of which are of a North-Arabian pattern; and (2) חנן, *cf.* 1 Chr. xi. 43; Esr. ii. 46; Neh. vii. 49 and others. Above these two names three dots and a "comma" indicate the numeral *thirteen*, for the "comma" is probably a cursive form of *ten*; *cf.* the Egyptian ∩ and its hieratic form.[34]

Turning now to the obverse, we perceive there five lines, of which lines 1 and 3 contain numerals, while 2, 4 and 5 are inscribed with letters. In line 2 we have a quadriliteral word ending in *n*; on the analogy of line 2 of the reverse it would not

[34] See G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, sign 623, 4th col. of hieratic (date Seti I, end of XIVth century B.C.), lower sign.

The fact that the units precede the sign of the tens need not surprise us, since the Semite counts his units first עָשָׂר – שְׁלֹשָׁה.

be a too wild hypothesis to surmise here also a n. pr. per. of the pattern פִּעְלָן (see above), with a numeral above it (in line 1), indicating the number *twelve*. Line 3 contains two groups of numerals ; *fifteen* on the r., *two* (or *twelve*, assuming that the missing fragment of the border contained a " comma ")—on the l. Line 4, therefore, must contain two names, between which are to be divided its five (?) letters ; it is possible, however, that there were originally six letters, for there is room enough for another letter between signs 3 and 4 (counting from r.). The last line, the clearest of all, reads, as already mentioned, לעקאחז. The third sign (from the r.) is new ; comparing it with the known letters of the Hebræo-Phoenician alphabet, two possibilities seem to arise : ו (*w* ; 𐤅, 𐤉) or ק (*q* ; 𐤒). Since a reading לעואחז (*l'w'ḥz*) does not seem to make any sense, the reading ק (*q*) is to be preferred ; in which case the word in question would read לעקאחז (*l'q'ḥz*), which may represent a theophorous name[35] ; as Dr. H. L. Ginsberg kindly informs me, the *Ugarit* texts make mention of a class of gods called עקקם (*'qqm*) ;[36] here we may have a mention of a single deity of this type. This sign occurs also in the proto-Sinaitic inscriptions, though it is not listed by Leibovitch[37] as a separate sign.[38] It occurs in inscription No. 1 (345), as the second sign from the l. in line b.[39]

To summarize : we seem to have here a list of workmen and the number of days they worked, together with the name of their employer (? ; at least that of the first mentioned three workmen) :

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
line 1 : twelve (days, worked)	line 1 : thirteen (days worked).
line 2 : *xxxn* (n. pr. per.)	line 2 : *gm'n* (*gim'ân*).

[35] On the pattern of יתואחז (*cf.* 2 Kings 13, 1).

[36] See *Syria* 1935, pl. XLV, col. I, ll. 27 and 37, and p. 249. The author owes both the knowledge of the fact as well as the reference to the courtesy of Dr. H. L. Ginsberg.

[37] See J. Leibovitch, *op. cit.*, pl. III.

[38] This sign is not to be confused with No. 32 of Leibovitch's signary, which is a different sign altogether.

[39] See Leibovitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–4. I would propose to transliterate and translate this second line in the following manner : כ קצת לבעלת (*k qdt lb'lt*), meaning " for (indeed) justice (or judgment) is Ba'alat's.

line 3 : fifteen (days) two (or twelve days, worked) line 3 : *hnn* (*ḥânân*; or possibly *ḫânân*).
line 4 : 'ṭ (?) *h*(?) *zṁ*.[40]
line 5 : for (לְ) '*q*'*ḥz* (*'aq'âḥâz*).

The dot under the ח in each case is rather puzzling. It is hardly to be taken for a diacritical point at this early age.[41] On the other hand it is difficult to assume that in both cases the dot represents the numeral *one*, and is only accidentally placed under the ח, in the one case near the end of the word, in the other—at the very beginning. Of course, there may be yet a third totally different explanation. In any case, the problem remains undecided for the time being.

Returning to the question of dating, the palæography of this inscription prevents us from assigning the sherd a date higher than any of the documents discussed heretofore. The shape of the ב is later than that of Lachish—I ; the shape of the ח is later than that of Lachish—II ; so is the form of the ג ; the ע is round, and though still retaining a dot in the centre in one case (obv., L. 5), it is distinctly later than the oblong ע of the Tell[i]-l-Ḥesi ostracon, with its sharp corners ; while the מ resembles that of Lachish—II, the latest of all the ostraca discussed above.

Taking all these facts into consideration the author feels inclined to assign this ostracon to the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.

The following is, therefore, an approximate chronological table of the pre- or proto-Israelite inscriptions found, so far, in Palestine :

The Shechem fragment (stone) ..	ca. 1650 B.C.
The Gezer ostracon (base of tall censer)	ca. 1600 B.C.

[40] For the ending *m cf.* אוֹנָם (Gen. 36, 23).

[41] The ה of אהז is of course a ḫ (*cf.* Arabic أَخَذَ). On the other hand the ה of הנז is a ḥ (*cf.* Arabic حَنَّ) though both Hebrew and Arabic possess also a second root خَنَّ ; it is significant that GB,[17] s. v. חָנָז does not state that this n. pr. is derived from הנן I (حَنَّ), as he does in the case of חנניהו, הנאל, &c.

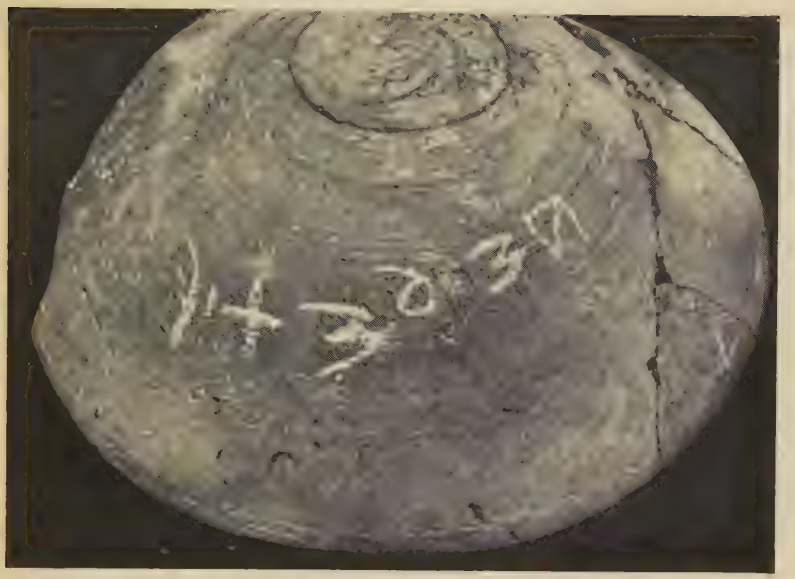


FIG. 1. R. HALF OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BOWL (LACHISH—II).

FIG. 2. L. HALF OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BOWL (LACHISH—II).

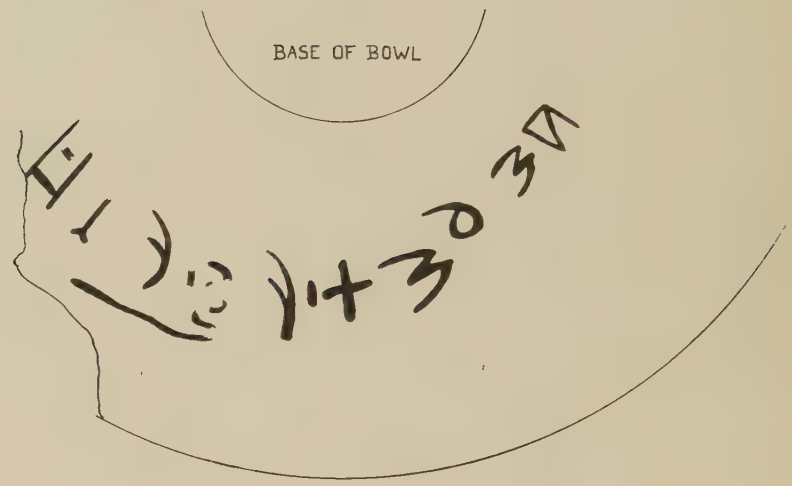


FIG. 3. THE FINDER'S SKETCH (LACHISH—II).

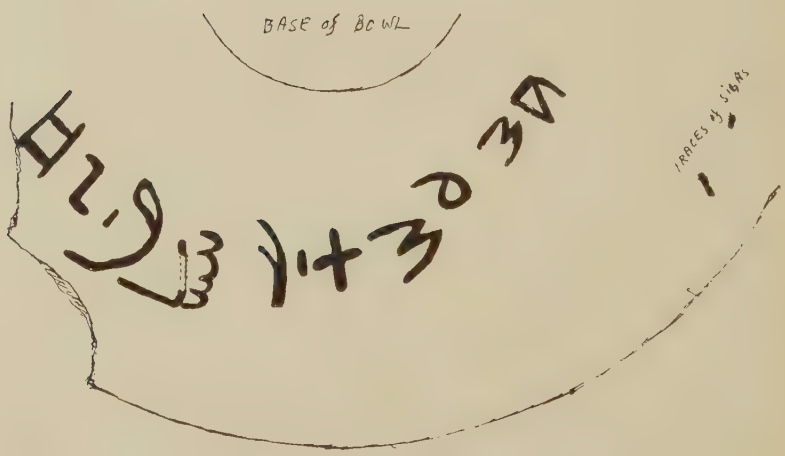


FIG. 4. THE AUTHOR'S DECIPHERMENT (LACHISH—II).

FIG. 5. THE BETH-SHEMESH OSTRACON (OBVERSE).

FIG. 6. THE BETH-SHEMESH OSTRACON (REVERSE).

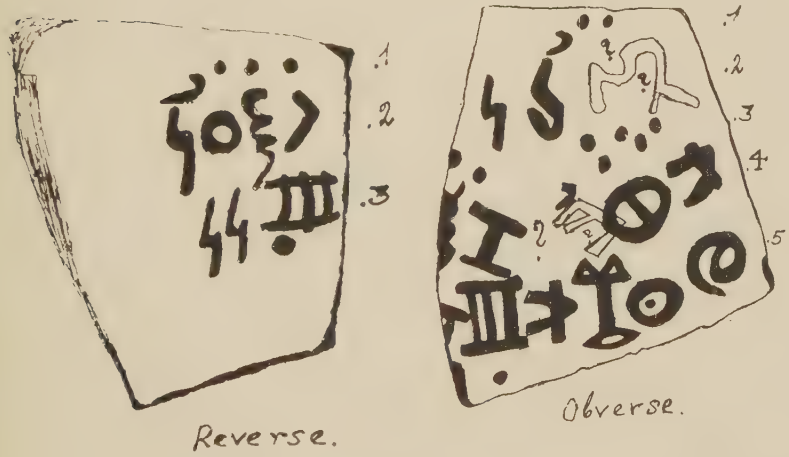


FIG. 7. THE AUTHOR'S DECIPHERMENT (BETH-SHEMESH) (OBVERSE AND REVERSE.)

The Tell^{i}-l-Ḥesi ostracon (bowl)	ca. 1350 B.C.
The Lachish—I ostracon (ewer)	ca. 1275 B.C.[42]
The Lachish—II ostracon (bowl)	ca. 1225 B.C.
The Beth-Shemesh ostracon ..	ca. 1200/1180 B.C.

The value of these documents is not in themselves, for all (with the exception of those from Shechem, and possibly Tell^{i}-l-Ḥesi) are fragmentary, and even the complete ones are very short (one word only), adding little new to our knowledge of either the political or the cultural history of their period. But they are very important as undeniable proofs of the existence of a local system of script, in which documents in the language of the country could be rendered. That this script was extensively used on all occasions is to be gleaned from the documents themselves, for they are of a miscellaneous nature : dedicatory (Shechem, Gezer, Lachish—I), funerary (Lachish—II) and of daily use (Tell^{i}-l-Ḥesi ?, Beth-Shemesh).

We begin to understand now how it happened that Jewish historiographers of the first millennium B.C. could incorporate in their compilations data relating to the third (Ha'ay) and second (the story of the conquest)[43] millennia B.C.

Tell-Aviv.

April 1, 1936.

ADDENDUM

The seventh ostracon (Lachish—III) has meanwhile been published by the finders (*Q.S.*, October, 1936, p. 180, fig. 1); the author hopes to make it a subject of a separate study in the near future.

April 28, 1937.

[42] Lachish—III seems to belong between Lachish—I and Lachish—II (see above, note 12).

[43] Hence, the great similarity, e.g. of the story of the conquest as told in Joshua (in general outline, not in detail) to the conditions obtaining in Palestine during the so-called Tell^{i}-l-'Amârna period ; see my article in עי IV, pp. 7 following.

HITTITE *PARAS* = HORSE ? ?

By O. R. Gurney.

In case other Hebraists besides Mr. Gaster[1] have been misled by Sayce's Hittite derivation of the Hebrew פָּרָשׁ,[2] I think the facts about the word *paras* and similar words in the Hittite texts should be clearly stated.

The word itself occurs only once, in the phrase *pa-ra-aš tar-ra-aš-ši-iš* DLAMA-*i* (*K.U.B.* II 1 III 18), and it is preceded by the two slanting wedges which indicate a non-Hittite, probably Luwian form. This phrase and the *kur-ra-aš tar-ra-aš-ši-iš* DLAMA-*i* in line 16 form an obvious pair, in a list of 112 names of the Protective Genius DLAMA ;[3] the two cannot possibly be " equivalent," and even if there were any reason (which, however, there is not) to supply the sign ANŠU at the beginning of line 16 and read ⟨ANŠU.⟩KUR. RA-*aš*, etc. (so Sayce *loc. cit.*), that would be sufficient proof that *paras* does not mean " horse "! The form of the words as well as the " Glossenkeil " would suggest that they are Luwian, and as the context supplies no indication of their meaning no interpretation of them is at present possible. The fact that a " Genius of the horses " (DLAMA ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ) occurs earlier in the list (II 13) is not in favour of Sayce's idea.

The word *pár-aš-du-us*, which Sayce translates " horse-droves," should be pronounced *parstus*, and has no bearing on the question, as it must from the context mean " new shoots " or the like.[4]

It is curious that Sayce did not mention the phrase ERÍN. MEŠ *pa-ra-ša-an-za* (*K.U.B.* XIV 19:11), which at first glance

[1] *P.E.Q.* 1937.1, p. 47 n.1.

[2] In *J.R.A.S.* 1930, p. 312.

[3] For the problem of the name of the Hittite deity written with this ideogram see Forrer, *Forschungen* I, p. 10, n.2, (for " Inaras ") ; Sommer, *Aḫḫijavā-urkunden*, p. 20 ff. and Ehelolf, *O.L.Z.* 1934, 721.

[4] So Götze, *Kleinasien* (*Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* III 1), p. 135.

reminds one of the frequent ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ " infantry and chariotry". But this word must be connected with *pa-ra-a-še-eš-ši-ir* (var. *pa-ra-še-eš-še-ir*), for which Sayce refers to Tenner, *Ein hethitischer Annalentext*, p. 20, but which Götze has more recently explained as a secondary formation from the verb *parā-* probably meaning " to scatter".[5]

The Hittite word for horse is not yet known ; but if ANŠU.KUR.RA-*uš* in Forrer, 2*Bo.T.U.* 12A II 36, is (as it appears to be) nom. sing., then it was a *u*-stem, a conclusion which would seem to bear out Hrozný's comment on the first line of the treatise on horse-training : " On pourrait se demander si la première partie du titre *amēl aššuššanni* de Kikkuliš ne contient pas de même le mot indien *áçvas* pour le cheval."[6] However, it must not be forgotten that *aššuššanni* is a Mitannian word and cannot therefore be used as evidence for the Hittite.

As Professor Langdon points out, there is in fact no need to treat Hebrew *pārāš* " horse " as a loan-word, since the Arabic and Ethiopic cognates both form regular derivatives ; Arabic *farus* " to understand the art of riding ", *faras* " horse, stud", Ethiopic *faras* " horse", *'afrāsī* "equestrian " ; Hebrew *parraš* " rider " ; and *cf.* Accadian *rakkabu* " charioteer " from *rakābu* " to mount a horse or chariot ".

[5] In *M.V.A.G.* 38 (1933), p. 254 f.
[6] *Archiv Orientální* III, p. 432, n.1.

THE SYNAGOGUE AND THE DIASPORA

By Helen Rosenau

Before the synagogue came into existence the Jewish worship was held in the Temple. But some arrangement to take the place of Temple worship must already have been made during the Babylonian exile. In the time of Ezra readings of the law were held in the open air. In the diaspora, the dispersion, as well as in Palestinian places outside Jerusalem, the need was felt to worship at the time of the Temple sacrifices. The " maamadot " delegations took the place of the whole population. For this population a permanent place of worship had to be provided in their own districts. In Jerusalem there was a hall, connected with the Temple, in which the priests prayed. The study of the Old Testament by the congregation, taking a prominent part in Jewish learning and religion, made a meeting place essential. All these different tendencies were combined and resulted gradually in a new type of worship without sacrifice, and a new type of religious building, the synagogue. In the synagogue service was held in the interior, this interior not being the house of a god, to which only priests had access, but a place of worship for the whole congregation or community.[1]

In the synagogue of Capernaum, which belongs to the earliest group so far known, the base of the colonnade supporting the gallery can be seen. These galleries were made for women as can be deduced from the arrangement in the outer forecourt of the Temple where galleries for women had already been built in order to avoid distraction by the proximity of the sexes. This statement conforms well with the description of the destruction of the synagogue in Alexandria by the Emperor Trajan. It is related that after having slaughtered all the men Trajan promised to spare the women. The women

[1] This study is part of a larger one, in preparation, where full references will be given. The standard work on the ancient synagogue is still : H. Kohl, C. Watzinger : *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa*, Leipzig 1916.

answered : " Do to those above what you have done to those below." This seems to indicate, as Dr. H. L. Ginsberg assumes, that the women were sitting in galleries.[1a] The tradition of separating men and women is to be traced back to Zechariah (Chap. 12 : " and the land shall mourn, every family apart, the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart," v. 12-14) and is found later on in the disposition of the women's court in the Temple.

A capital of the synagogue of Capernaum shows the importance and the limits of Hellenistic influence : the style of the acanthus leaves is closely related to Baalbek, and the introduction of a Jewish symbol—the lampstand with seven branches—indicates the future development towards the representation of religious objects. The same style is found in the group related to Capernaum. (Pl. VI, Figs. 1, 2.)

The beginning of an artistic tradition of worship in an interior, not in the open space of a court, is represented in the Basilica of the Porta Maggiore in Rome. It was the place of worship of the Pythagorean sect. This sect was of great importance in the first century of the Christian Era : the altar stands in the west opposite the eastern apse and is a reminder of the general tradition which placed the main altar in the outer court standing before the temple. An influence of this tradition can even be seen in the Carolingian " Westwerke " like Centula where the main altar stands on a gallery over the entrance in the west.

It is characteristic of synagogue worship that it takes place inside the building as was typical of the ancient mystery cults and also of the Christian church. The chief difference between the mystery cults on the one hand, and synagogue and church on the other being that the mystery cults were only meant for a small number of adherents, whereas Jewish and Christian worship was open to the whole community. It is in keeping with Temple tradition that a forecourt was a frequent architectural feature of the synagogue.

The first synagogue of Dura was a basilica having no protruding apse and no special part for women. The plan is developed on width not on length as was generally the habit

[1a]Cp. E. L. Sukenik : *Ancient synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, London 1934, p. 48, note 1.

in later periods and remains in general usage to the present day. The second synagogue of Dura (A.D. 245) is built on the earlier plan and is worth noting for its relation to the Temple idea, possessing as it does a niche as the receptacle of the Scrolls, and having its orientation like the Temple to the west.[2] Dura is well known on account of its cycle of paintings, but deserves to be equally famous for its architecture which is similar to Hammam-Lif where the synagogue conforming to the same pattern is also orientated towards the west.[2a]

The painting above the niche in Dura shows the Temple in a form related to the Bar Kochba coins, a huge representation of the seven branched lampstand and the sacrifice of Isaac. (Cp. PAL. EXPL. FUND QUART. STAT. 1936, pl. IV, fig. 2.) The latter reminds us that sacrifice is connected with Temple worship. This is opposed to synagogue worship where prayers take the place of sacrifice. Isaac, who was not sacrificed, is therefore a suitable allegory for the synagogue. In the book of Jubilees, which is pre-Christian, the sacrifice of Isaac is said to have taken place on the day of the Passover, and to be a type of the Paschal Lamb.[3]

The differentiation between Jewish and Christian art is manifest in the paintings of the Church in Dura. Traces of the Good Shepherd can be seen surrounded by his sheep. Whereas Jewish art is representative, emblematic, symbolic and historical, Christian art from its very beginning emphasizes more the allegorical aspects. So, for instance, the Good Shepherd, a pagan pattern, stands for Christ.

The sacrifice of Isaac was a popular subject of Jewish painting. In Beth Alpha it shows in a primitive style the altar, the ram, Abraham's two servants and the palm trees. It is significant of the representative character of this picture

[2]This feature has not been appreciated in *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, p. 541 ff.

[2a] *Revue Biblique*, specially 45, 1936, p. 72 ff; *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XVI, 1936, p. 33 ff. The orientation of prayer in Hammam-Life was probably towards Jerusalem, conforming to the direction of the inscription and Talmud tradition. In any case it possessed a double orientation, namely towards the niche and towards the doors, e.g. as in the Temple and towards Jerusalem. Cf. note.

[3] J. Parkes: *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, London 1934, p. 116.

that the hand of God has a central position. Even when the Jews adopted pictorial representation of animated beings they never went so far as to represent God, differing in this respect from the Christians. The various figures are named in writing, thereby denoting the close relation between figuring and writing. This attitude was general in the art of the pre-Greek periods and was recovered in the Middle Ages. (Pl. VI, Fig. 3.)

The well-known church of San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna is typical of early Italian Christian art under Byzantine influence. It belongs to the sixth century, the same period as Beth Alpha,[4] which is dated by an inscription, mentioning the Emperor Justin. The row of figures above the arcades is well known for its hieratic and refined style. It shows the prominent part the human figure plays in Christian art. It can be used as representative of individuals and at the same time as representative of ideas. This attitude is clear in the representation of saints who belong both to the human and celestial world. Whereas Christian art is mainly characterized by its allegorical aspects, namely by the animation and representation of abstract ideas giving to the abstract an anthropomorphic form, Jewish art is chiefly representative of symbols, namely expressing significance by means of signs. This must be understood as a general statement, as in Christian art symbols are found, for instance the Cross, and in Jewish art abstract ideas are sometimes animated as, for instance, when Daniel is represented in the lions' den thereby expressing the idea of salvation. But these are exceptions, not the most characteristic features.

The form of the synagogue in the Middle Ages is entirely different from those previously seen, except in Spain. (Pl. I, Fig. 4.) A hall with double naves and small windows is adopted, not unlike the refectory type of Christian monasteries. The central columns interfere architecturally with the orientation of the building. The architects who built the synagogues in

[4] Cp. Sukenik, *op. cit.*, p. 31. The same : *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem and London 1932, p. 50 ff. leaves the choice between the two Emperors Justin open. The style of the mosaics is, however, so advanced, from a primitive point of view, that the second Emperor of this name is more likely to be mentioned. (565–578.)

antiquity were most likely Jews, as no political restriction hampered their artistic development. In the Middle Ages when the Jews were not allowed to enter guilds or cathedral workshops the architects of synagogues were Christians. Therefore the details of the synagogue in Worms, as in other places, were similar to those of the cathedral.[5]

The synagogue in Prague belongs to this type, which as the early-Gothic character of its ornaments implies must belong to the thirteenth century.[6] From it the synagogue in Cracow is derived. (Pl. VII, Fig. 1.)

The miniature of the synagogue in the Haggadah of Serajewo shows the same thickness of the walls and the smallness of the windows. In the fortress-like types of synagogue, as found in Lincoln and in France, the room for prayer is in the protected upper floor, which was easier to defend than the ground floor.[7] In Lincoln the niche for the scrolls is still extant. (Pl. VIII.) The influence of persecutions and their effect on architecture are clearly notable in Central-Europe, whereas in Spain different conditions prevailed, and the synagogues there are therefore still in the antique type, with galleries and niches, their decoration influenced by the mozarabic environments,[8] in the same way as in Antiquity, they were influenced by Hellenistic art.

A baroque type of synagogue in Poland belonging to Lublin (seventeenth century)[9] shows how the vaulting is centred over the pulpit, the " bema." (Pl. VII, Fig. 2.) The tradition for this arrangement can be traced back to the great synagogue, the " diplostoon " in Alexandria, which possessed a "stoa in a stoa." This from the nomenclature of Vitruvius is a building with

[5] R. Krautheimer : *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*, Berlin 1927, *passim* is—although one-sided regarding the " secular elements " of the synagogue, and not free of mistakes in detail—the standard work on medieval synagogues, mainly in Germany, omitting, however, England and France.

[6] Cp. Z. Muenzer : *Die Altneusynagoge in Prag*, Prag 1932, p. 32 ff.

[7] Cp. the present writer's article in *Archæological Journal*, XCIII, 1937, p. 51 ff.

[8] *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 84, 1927, p. 15 ff. ; E. Lambert ; *Tolède*, Paris 1925.

[9] A good survey of synagogues and Jewish works of art in general is given by M. Lowenthal : *A world passed by*, New York and London 1933, where many references will be found concerning baroque synagogues.

FIG. 1. CAPITAL IN CAPERNAUM
(FROM ORFALI)

FIG 2. DETAILS IN CHORA IN

FIG. 3. MOSAIC IN BETH ALPHA
(FROM SUKENIK)

FIG. 4. SYNAGOGUE IN SEGOVIA
(THROUGH THE COURTESY OF DR. A. S. YAHUDA)

FIG. 1. SYNAGOGUE IN CRACOW

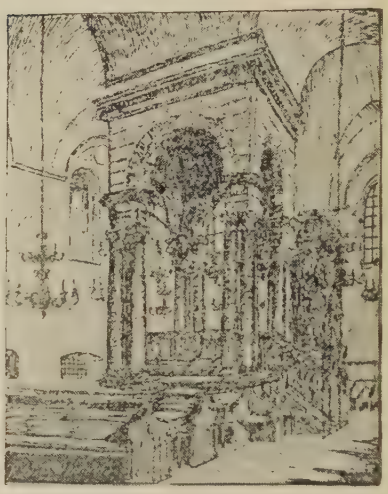
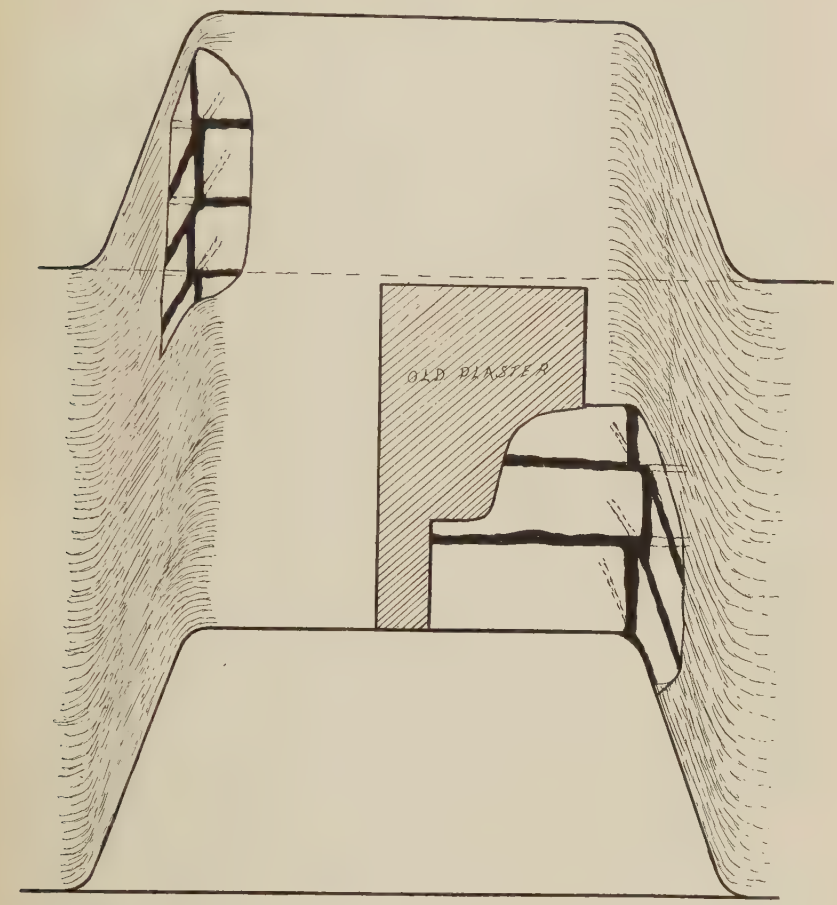


FIG. 2. SYNAGOGUE IN LUBLIN
(FROM LOWENTHAL)

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

ELIAH SYNAGOGUE IN JERUSALEM



NICHE 3IN=1FT.

NICHE IN LINCOLN, "JEWS' COURT"

GREAT SYNAGOGUE, LONDON

FIG. 11. "TEMPLE" IN HAMBURG

FIG. 12. "TEMPLE" IN HAMBURG

double aisles.[10] Such an arrangement was not general, as this pulpit is specially mentioned. It can be explained by the largeness of the building and its double row of columns, which obstructed the view of the congregation.

Incidentally it is worth noting, that the antique influence in Spain, mentioned above, is also visible in S. Maria la Blanca in Toledo, a synagogue, which like some antique ones, possessed double aisles.

That the centre of the synagogue was meant to be seen is apparent from the distribution of the mosaics in Beth Alpha, and in Egina, where the remnants of the pulpit have been found before the apse. In the Middle Ages, which continued for the Jews in Poland and Palestine right into modern times the Talmud tradition became all important. The description of the Alexandria synagogue was unduly generalized and therefore the pulpit was placed in the middle of the building.

The Sephardic synagogue in Amsterdam, of the end of the seventeenth century, shows in its general distribution of ground plan and galleries the antique tradition, which had never died out completely with the Spanish Jews.[11] Two similar synagogues can be seen in London, the earlier one being a copy of the Amsterdam model, the later one, the " Great " synagogue influenced by the art of Sir Christopher Wren, and the Adam Brothers. (Pl. IX.)[12]

Here it may be added, that the art of Protestantism in general and the influence it attaches to the sermon, offers a parallel to synagogue architecture, which may be, perhaps, more than a mere coincidence. A church like St. James's, Piccadilly, finished in 1683, emphasizing the importance of the sermon, introducing galleries, connected this favourite of Wren's churches with synagogue tradition.

In Palestine the influence of the Orthodox Church is felt in the " centralized " ground plan including the pulpit in the centre (cp. p. 200) as in the oldest synagogue in Jerusalem, the

[10] Vitruvius applies his definition to temples, they may, however, be adapted to other types. Cp. *Der Morgen*, 11, 1935, p. 59 ff. *De Architectura*, III.

[11] *Theologische Blaetter*, 13, 1934, col. 289 ff.

[12] On Wren cp. C. Whitaker-Wilson : London (1932), p. 189 ; on the Adams : T. Swanbrick : Robert Adam, London 1916.

Eliah Synagogue. The ornaments show Turkish influence ; an older part possessing a barrel vaulting may belong to the Middle Ages, the synagogue proper to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. (Pl. VII, 3, 4.)

In our times, Jewish artists conform to modern standards, and buildings, like Elte's synagogue in Amsterdam, or Friedmann and Ascher's synagogue in Hamburg, adapt the functional style to old religious needs. (Pl. X, XI)

The subject " the synagogue and the diaspora " has only been sketched here. But even so, one point seems to arise clearly : Jewish creativeness was fostered by religious and spiritual requirements. The forms were adapted from—often hostile—environments. The question of synagogue and diaspora reveals therefore one aspect of the wider problem of Jewish assimilation and Jewish independence.

REVIEWS AND PUBLICATIONS

La Légende Phénicienne de Danel. Par CHARLES VIROLLEAUD. (Mission de Ras Shamra, Tome I.) Paris, Geuthner, 1936.

La Légende de Keret, Roi des Sidoniens. Par CHARLES VIROLLEAUD. (Mission de Ras Shamra, Tome II.) Paris, Geuthner, 1936.

The Ugarit Texts. Ed. H. L. GINSBERG, B.A., Ph.D. Published by the Bialik Foundation of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, through Vaad Halashon. Jerusalem, 1936 (Hebrew).

The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts. By JAMES A. MONTGOMERY and ZELIG S. HARRIS. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. IV. Philadelphia, 1935.

DURING the past year two important additions have been made to our repertoire of Hebraic poems discovered at Ras Shamra-Ugarit in North Syria. These are *The Legend of Keret* and *The Legend of Danel*—both admirably edited by M. Charles Virolleaud in a new series inaugurated by the French Department of Antiquities in Syria.

The Legend of Keret describes a war fought by a certain king of that name against a coalition of Palestinian peoples headed by a chieftian named Terach. Among these people are the tribes of Asher and Zebulun, and part of the action takes place in Edom. The Biblical implications of this text are therefore obvious. Keret is the eponym of the Chereth-ithes who, according to I Samuel 30, 14, occupied part of the Negeb. He represents, more or less, the indigenous population of Southern Palestine. Terach, on the other hand, is the eponym of the marauding and invading Terachids, from whom the tribes of Israel claimed descent, Terach being represented in Biblical saga as the father of the patriarch Abraham. Asher and Zebulun, whose names are attested on the celebrated Egyptian *Aechtungstexte* as early as 2300 B.C., are two of the native peoples who later federated into the union known as the Children of Israel. Thus, the story is

that of an early Hebrew irruption into the land, the invaders being the ancestors, in large part, of the later Israelites.

It would appear that Israelitic legend transferred to Abraham the heroic characteristics of the older Terach. This Terach, who is partially a moon-god (*cf.* Hebrew y-r-ch " moon "), has a wife Shin and a concubine Nikkar, in whom we may recognize the Mesopotamian deities Sin and Nikkal, the former feminized. These goddesses appear in the Israelitic story as Sarah and Milkah, for the names Sarah and Milkah are but the Hebrew equivalents of the Mesopotamian *sharratu* and *malkatu*, titles of the moon-goddess. Whereas the original story implied the lower status of Nikkar-Milkah by making her a concubine of Terach beside Shin, his primary wife, the Israelitic story conveys the same distinction by the device of making Milkah merely a sister-in-law of the patriarch Abraham. Moreover, it is to be remarked that the Ras Shamra story tells the tale from the angle of the native Cherethithes, whereas the Israelitic story tells it from that of the invading Terachids. Nevertheless, the heroic motifs are roughly the same, and this text therefore furnishes a striking example of how earlier Palestinian legend was transmuted by the Biblical writers. This is a point which is gradually receiving more attention in modern studies, but there is still much to be done in the way of delving behind the literature of Israel (particularly as regards the Psalms) and recovering the earlier Palestinian prototypes.

So much for the actual story. As for the philological exegesis of the text, it may be said at once that M. Virolleaud's treatment is, on the whole, eminently successful. He has succeeded in making out a consequential sense, and in determining the meaning of several highly difficult words. There are, however, one or two passages which are open to serious question. Thus, in the middle of the text, after a gap, we are abruptly introduced to a certain Pbl-mlk who demands large tributes from Keret. Keret, however, is ordered by the supreme deity El to send messengers to him whereupon he will

" change to a mere grunt the roaring of his bull,
to the tones of human voice the braying of his ass,
to the lowing of a bull in the ploughlands the yelping of his wandering dog."

M. Virolleaud interprets this to mean that Pbl-mlk is miraculously to change the voices of various animals ! Here he has sadly neglected Semitic idiom, for all that the text really means is that Pbl-mlk

" will change to a mere grunt his bull-like roaring,
to the tones of human voice his ass-like braying
to the (contented) lowing of a bull in the ploughland his
cur-like yelping ! "

Pbl-mlk is evidently the king of some intervening territory. He will not allow Keret to pass through on his campaign unless he receives exorbitant tributes. Keret is thereupon ordered to make him " change his tone." As for the name Pbl-mlk, Virolleaud associates it with the Sumerian Pabil-sag whom he calls " a god " (p. 11). But Pabil-sag is simply the name of the constellation Saggitarius, and is therefore out of place here. More probably, this is a composite Asianic and Semitic name, like Pdr-mlk in the 1929 texts. Allowing for the regular interchange of n and l in Asianic languages, the element Pbl might indeed connect with the divine name *Pbn-s* in the Asianic text, 1929, IV. rev. 2 and marg. 1.

Virolleaud makes an excellent point when he says that the Sumerian character of the names Shin and Nikkar (Nikkal), consorts of Terach, support the Biblical story that the Terachids came from " Ur of the Chaldees." It should be remarked, however, that the name Shin already enters into the composition of proper-names in the *Aechtungstexte* (Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 85), and into that of Shin-ab, king of Admah, in Gen. 14, 2.

A few philological points of interest may here be added : In ll.12–13 we read of the invading army of Keret : " Let his Righteousness (*Ṣdq*) drive out the pampered women (*mtrḫt* ; *cf.* Ar. *r-ḫ-w* ' be soft,' pun on Terach !), let his Uprightness (*Yśr*) expel the wife of Terach." This shows that Ṣedeq and Yośer were regarded as guardian angels walking before an army, and we are thus able confidently to emend Psalm 85, 14 : " Sedek walketh before him, and Yosher (1. *w-Yśr* for MT *w-yśm*) in his footsteps."—In line 71, the word for " silver " is the Hittite *ḫatuš*. On this it may be observed that *ḫatum* likewise appears as a word for " silver " in the Cappadocian texts and even in Egyptian *ḫ-z*.—In l.82

bt ḥbr " council-house " should be compared with the *beth ha-aśuppim* of I Chronicles 26, 15.—In line 91, where the army is described as *bl hg* " beyond thought," we may cp. the Assyrian expression *la ḫassa* in K.2801 r.15 and in Assurbanipal III.73 (v. Meissner, ZA.1895, p. 78).—In line 93, where it is described as *km yr* this means " like drops of early rain," i.e. innumerable ; for the expression, cp. Tallquist, Haḳedem I. p. 13.—In line 122, where the barking of a dog is called *zgt*, this word must be explained as = *zgdt* from the Arabic root *z-g-d* " yelp."—Lastly, in line 148 the metal called *šrml* is, I think, the metal of *Š-r-m* i.e. Salamis in Cyprus, i.e. copper. The final *-l* is the Asianic genitive as in *barz-el*, with which cp. Georgian *beredj*.

The Legend of Danel is of a more complicated order. Four tablets have been recovered, but the order of these is uncertain. I believe that what Virolleaud calls Tablet I is really Tablet II, and this order has, indeed, been suspected by the French savant himself. It is only upon this basis that a connected sequence becomes possible.

Danel, an ancient hero, has no son. He therefore begs El to give him one, promising (like Hannah in the case of Samuel !) that the son will serve El and Baal in their temples. The son is born, and Danel repairs to certain goddesses called Kashiroth and of swallow-form, to render thanks. The son is called Aqhat.

The goddess Anat is jealous. She fears that Aqhat the prince will receive the first fruits which are really the due of her own offspring or fostering. She therefore orders her henchmen to break the cups of tribute presented to this lad, and threatens hostilities. Aqhat appeases her by promising her rich gifts, whereupon she undertakes not to deliver him over to his adversaries (" the Asherite and Hurrian ! ") unless he behave presumptously.

Then there is a gap. Aqhat is assailed by a god called Yaṭpan, emissary of Anat, who kills him. Danel institutes mourning, but calls upon Anat to punish Yaṭpan. The issue is not clear, but apparently Aqhat is revived, for at the end of the text there is a description of a banquet in which men of the fields and " they that dwell in tents," as well as Yaṭpan himself, bring first fruits (hlm ; *cf.* Hebrew *hillulim* !) to him.

An unplaced fragment describes how offerings are presented to the Shades (*rephaim* !) " on the day of summer-fruits " (*bym qṣ* ; *cf*. *qṣ* on Gezer Calendar !) and how they are believed then to haunt the threshingfloors.

In M. Virolleaud's treatment no such consecutive sense is made out, and it is to be feared that the story is somewhat disconnected and pointless. Indeed, it must be said candidly that his treatment of this text falls somewhat short of the standard set by his previous publications, and that the mythgical and folkloristic implications are almost entirely overlooked.

This poem is simply a nature-myth, clothed in the vesture of historical legend. Danel replaces the god Ḡazzar, and therefore bears the subsidiary title of Ḡazzar. Yatpan, as his name implies, is the genius of the small rains which precede the autumn downpour. Aqhat is a character of historical legend replacing Aleyan-Baal, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, &c., in analogous myths. Phrases and whole passages are duplicated in the Aleyan-Mot Poem, showing that they are derived from the stock of the resurrection-drama. M. Virolleaud should have seen all this, for then he would have been able to understand the whole point of the story. Anat is the consort of Baal, god of the rain, and her hostility to Aqhat is due to the fact that she fears an usurpation of Baal's rights. Yatpan, the soft rain, puts Aqhat to death, after Baal has previously withheld his rains in spite. Danel thereupon orders his daughters Paghat to water the earth as best she may. Paghat is called " she that carries on her shoulders the waters of *ḥ-p-ś-t*." Obviously, Paghat is the genius of the springs and of the waters of the ṡaḥab-clouds (*cf*. Biblical matar ṡoḥeph, Pr. 28, 3 of which *ḥ-p-ś-t* is a metathesis) which precede the autumn rains and give investure to the dry earth at the end of the arid season ! The whole thing is a seasonal myth. Probably, it was enacted mimetically, and on one occasion the principal parts were taken by the king Danel and his son Aqhat (whose name cps. with Biblical Qehat and Sabean W-q-h-e-l). Thus, these names became standardized. In the same way, our English Arthur embodies mythological motifs of the saviour-hero, as does also the Biblical David.

Danel is called *mt-rpe*. Virolleaud thinks this is an additional proper-name, meaning literally " Death heals ! " I

would suggest alternatively that it is an ethnic adjective, in which *mt* is the Assyrian *mutu*, &c., " man " (cp. Biblical ish Yehudah, &c.) and *Rpe* connects with the Biblical people called Rephaim. Thus, Danel is a Rephaite. This will explain why his enemy is called *mt uḫryt* " man of Hurriland " (II D. vi. 35) or *uḫry* " Hurrian " (I D. 155, 162, 169), for according to Deuteronomy 2, 11–12, the Rephaim were next-door neighbours of the Hurrians who lived in Seir !

By way of preface to his edition of Danel, M. Virolleaud gives a history of Ugarit, in so far as it can be reconstructed from the texts and from stray allusions elsewhere, and also a conspectus of the texts. From the latter it appears that the bulk of the material so far recovered has already been published. The sketch of the city's history is necessarily a mere outline, and does little more than bring together indications scattered over the texts. M. Virolleaud is inclined to dispute the identification of the place *Š-r-m-n* (also *Š-r-m-g*) with Salamis in Cyprus, first proposed by Dussaud., but there are points in favour of it which he ignores. Firstly, *Šrm-g* (with Asianic suffix *-gi*) stands parallel in one text with *Trḡ-zz* (with Asianic suffix *-zzi*) i.e. " Tarḫu's Town," and since Tarḫu is generally admitted to be identical with the classical Teukros, Teucer, it is at least noteworthy that, according to Strabo and other writers, Salamis was founded by Teucer ! Secondly, the Legend of Keret mentions a metal *šrm-l* which seems to be " copper," and which properly means " the thing from *Š-r-m*." The meaning " copper " would fit at once if *Š-r-m* meant Salamis in Cyprus, for that island was famous for copper (cp. the very name *copper* cyprum !).

Virolleaud also discusses the origin of the Ras Shamra alphabet, but his discussion is seriously limited by the fact that he dismisses without a word the view that the script was an adaptation from the " Sinaitic " and the type of writing recently found at Tell Duweir, Beth Shemesh, and now Byblus. This view, first adumbrated by Olmstead, has since been developed by Burrows and the present writer in some detail, and at least claims consideration or demonstration of tis error.

Our third volume is unfortunately restricted to a limited public, for it is written in Hebrew. This is the more unfortunate because it is the first collected edition of the texts, up

to but not including Keret and Danel, and because it is a wholly admirable performance. Ginsberg has contented himself with purely philological notes and has eschewed any interpretation of the texts on the mythological side. His introduction merely gives what it is necessary to know about Ras Shamra and about the orthography of the documents. For the first time since Dhorme's pioneer edition, the 1929 texts are edited with commentary and where possible, with Hebrew rendering. A glossary-concordance further enhances the value of this work, which is produced at the extremely reasonable price of four shillings.

The reviewer does not endorse every interpretation given, but this is scarcely to be expected. Sometimes, however, serious errors seem to be committed. Thus, in 1929 III.39 there is no need to emend *kbd* to *nkbd*, for *kbd* is the name of a special kind of tithe-offering, explicable from the Minean *kabudath*. The seven Pamt who are sometimes mentioned are perhaps the seven Titanides of Byblus mentioned by Philo of Byblus, the name connecting with Arabic *p-y-m* and As. *piamu* " be doughty."—Ginsberg has not noted the fact, pointed out by the reviewer in OLZ 1935, 477 that the ritual texts often contain a kind of appendix at the end stating the part to be played by the king. Thus V.24 ff : *mlk ylk lqḥ elm ašr elm ylk p'nm mlk p'nm ylk* means " the king is to go to the courtyard (*cf.* Arabic ! Ginsberg reads *lqt*) of the gods, to the place of the gods (*cf.* As. ašru, S. Arabian atar sanctuary ') is he to go on foot ; yea, the king is to go on foot." In the deed for a house, 1929 No. 15 Ginsberg has not observed that *ddy* and *'my* go together and mean, after the Arabic, " my uncles, my kinsmen." Similarly *laḥdt* in the same text does not mean "I have taken it," or "for my taking," but is the Hebrew *le-aḥuzah* " for a holding, landed property " and refers to the fact that the house has been handed over to the writer of the tablet.—In the list of gods 1929, No. 17 Ginsberg reads the broken first word as (*y*) *rṣ* " may they shew favour," but surely (*a*)*rṣ* " Earth " is more likely, seeing that Ge (Earth) is definitely mentioned by Sanchuniathon. In line 9 is *Uṯḫt* left without comment. I think it is a Semitized *washo* " god " of the Asianic pantheon, for *cf.* Hattic *waśḫab*, Kassitic *waśḫab* and modern Tcherkessic

waśḫo. The name has been feminized, and u stands for wa, as elsewhere.—In regard to the list of names from the 1933 collection, the present writer's explanations in SYRIA 1935, 225–7 might have been utilized, for despite Albright's cavalier criticism most of the comparisons stand examination. To that article it may be added that Sdy in l. 15 might be an Hurrian hypocoristicon Sattiya (from rt. *satt-* " protect "), and that in l. 36 Abdḥr recurs on a South Arabian inscription recently published by Höffner. The name means " The father treasures up " (Ar. *dḫr* ; cp. BH. Eli-zaphan, &c.). In lines 21–4 the ethnic Uśkny may connect with Wassugani (also written Ussugani), capital of Mitanni !—In the colophon to the Aleyan-Baal Text, p. 69 the title " chief of the priests " (rb khnm) recurs on the archaic inscription from Byblus (fifteenth century B.C.) recently deciphered by Grimme in *Le Muséon*, whilst the complementary " chief of the shepherds " (rb nqdm) may refer to the tending of sacred sheep. The further title *š'y* might indeed mean " prince " (cp. Keret, 200 and 305), as Ginsberg supposes, but I am inclined to connect it philologically with the word *š'* frequent in the ritual texts and connecting with South Arabian *ṯ'* and *mṯ't* " gift, offering " (*cf.* also Arabic *wṯ'* " give " ?). Then, *š'y*, as the title of a temple official, will answer exactly to the Assyrian *šurku* and the Hebrew *nathin* (in pl. *nethinim*), lit. " one given " sc. to the service of the sanctuary, i.e. an acolyte.

Especially ingenious is Ginsberg's treatment of the Hippiatric treatise found in 1933. That *pr ḥdrt* means " shred lettuce " is clever, for most of us were deluded into taking *pr* to mean " fruit." I am not so convinced, however, that when a thing is ordered to be poured " *baph* " this means " before him." I think it means literally " up its nostril." Further, Ginsberg has not noticed that the line (obv. 22) " when a horse roars " refers to a pathological condition still known as " roaring."

In an appendix Ginsberg seeks to show that Psalm 29 is a Baal-psalm worked over. He illustrates it from the Ras Shamra texts. This view was, however, anticipated by the present writer in *Folklore*, 1933, p. 382, n. 13, and will shortly be developed more fully in a study of pre-Yahwistic (or non-Yahwistic) elements in the Psalter.

Ginsberg is to be warmly congratulated on giving us yet another valuable contribution to Ras Shamra studies.

The last book on our list is of more limited scope, for it contains neither commentary nor translation. Moreover, only the mythological texts are treated, excluding Keret and Danel and " The Harrowing of Baal " which appeared too late. The editors' exegesis is confined to the Glossary. There are introductory sections on the discovery of the texts, their grammar, contents and structure. There is also a useful, though incomplete, bibliography. The texts are transcribed into Hebrew square characters.

The glossary contains several good suggestions, and it is gratifying to find that the South Semitic vocabulary is properly explored and exploited, for Virolleaud tends too much to appeal to Assyrian. An excess of caution seems, however, to have beset the editors, for several simple words are left without explanation. Sometimes, quite impossible interpretations are given. Thus, *qnṣ* " conceive " has no connection with Biblical *k-n-s*. It means literally " emmesh," and the semantic development is paralleled by French " enceinte." Similarly, *elqṣm* cannot mean " to their end," for *el* " to " nowhere occurs. It is an Arabism *al-giṣṣ* " gypsum." Again *'d* in the phrase *yrḫm 'l 'd* does not mean " eternity " ; it means " stone of circuit," as I have shown in OLZ, July, 1936. Again, *nṣbt* in a text describing such offerings as *ḫnn* " supplicatory-offering " and *šlm* " peace-offering," hardly means " statue." It is the Arabic *nuṣb* " statutory offering." These, however, are trivial points and are amply compensated by the many ingenious explanations which the Glossary contains.

Lastly, in bringing our survey to a close, it may be remarked that the study of the Ras Shamra material is at present hampered by the fact that it is being attacked too much from the purely philological angle. There is much still to be done on the folkloristic side, and indeed, it is often impossible to fix the sense of a word or passage except due regard be had to social and religious usage and custom. The present writer has been endeavouring to tackle the material principally from this angle, and although results are necessarily tentative and subject to revision, it would appear that study from this point

of view has much to contribute. Certainly there is a necessity for widening the horizon, and the folkloristic method of approach need not be despised, as it occasionally is, by scholars who prefer to walk in blinkers.

THEODOR GASTER.

Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste. By J. W. CROWFOOT, London, 1937. British School of Archæology in Jerusalem Supplementary Paper 4, 1937. 5*s*.

Following a brief account of the results of former investigations especially those of de Vogue and Butler, Mr. Crowfoot decided to search for further evidence of the original plan of the cathedral in Bosra. As a result of his excavations the central ground plan including a collonnaded quatrefoil is clear, and there is also strong evidence of the main features of the clerestory and the roof which possessed no dome. Some of the conclusions reached by Mr. Crowfoot emphasize the importance of Bosra Cathedral as a large centralized church, and explains the development of this type from hellenistic models. It is likely that an ambo occupied the centre of the church. Incidentally, it may be added that centralization was not only a feature of the early Christian church, but also of one type of synagogue known from the Talmud description of the synagogue in Alexandria. The " Syrian " ending of the cathedral is not explained by Mr. Crowfoot as this would possibly have surpassed the scope of the present study. It is worth noting, however, that the excavations of A. Westholm (The Temples of Soli, Stockholm, 1936) reveal an antique tradition for this architectural type. This derivation is especially important, because the attempt to explain the type from liturgical reasons (cp. Archæologia XLIV, 1873, p. 383ff) is not convincing : the Byzantine procession touches only the middle and the north part of the church, so that the southern apse is architecturally superfluous. Therefore, this ceremonial was not the reason of the tripartite plan.

In the second part of his study, Mr. Crowfoot deals with the cult of St. John the Baptist and analyses the different architectural stages of the church which has now a centralized plan with four supports and a crypt. The main architectural features belong to the tenth to the twelfth centuries, and are

influenced by the Byzantine tradition as are also the wall paintings (probably second half of the twelfth century).

The two parts of Mr. Crowfoot's study are independent of each other. They should form a welcome contribution to a history of religious architecture in the Near East, about which Mr. Crowfoot is so well qualified to write.

H.R.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

The Antiquaries Journal, April, 1937. Review of C. J. Gadd : The Stones of Assyria.

The Expository Times, April–June, 1937. Recent Biblical Archæology, by J. W. Jack (June).

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 53, 2–3.

Religions, April, 1937.

Great Britain and the East, April–June, 1937.

The New Judæa, April–June, 1937.

American Journal of Archæology, January–March, 1937. Archæological Exploration and Excavation in Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria during 1936, by W. F. Albright and Nelson Glueck.

American Journal of Philology, LVIII, 2.

The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, April, 1937. The Book of Ruth, by W. E. Staples.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, April, 1937. Palestine in the Chalcolithic Age, by G. E. Wright. The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets, by C. H. Gordon.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, March–April, 1937.

Geographical Review, April, 1937.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 57, 1. Studies in Oriental Archæology, I, Plano-convex Bricks, by V. Muller.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1937.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, LX, 1.

Journal Asiatique, April–June, 1937.

Nouvelle Revue Théologique, April–June, 1937.

Revue Biblique, April, 1937. Les fouilles d'et-Tell (Ai), by R. P. L-H. Vincent.
Archiv für Orientforschung, XI, 5–6. Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige, IV, by E. F. Weidner. Review of H. L. Ginsberg : The Ugarit Texts, by T. H. Gaster.
Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, April–June, 1937.
Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Die religionshistorischen Voraussetzungen der Kain-Abel-Geschichte : by A. Brock-Utne.
Biblica, 18, 2. Sur quelques inscriptions juives de Doura-Europos, by Cte. du Mesnil du Buisson.
Al-Mashriq, January–March, 1937.
Bible Lands, April, 1937.
NEA ΣΙΩΝ, January–March, 1937.
Die Palästina-Literatur, Vol. V, pt. II. Edited by Prof. W. Thomsen. (Three copies.)
Onomasticon of Palestine, by Paul Romanoff.
Denkmäler der judischen Antike, by A. Reifenberg.
Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, 1936.
Die ægyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen, by A. Jirku.

PERIODICALS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN JERUSALEM

On examining the library of the school, just after taking up residence in Jerusalem, I found in particular, as mentioned in my annual report, that much needed doing in regard to the periodicals. While quite a number of these were fairly well represented, there were very many gaps in sets and runs, a lot of parts were unbound, and title-pages and tables of contents were sometimes missing or had been wrongly bound in—not seldom in the volume after that to which they belonged.

In November, 1935, sixteen periodicals were being currently received, so far as I could ascertain from the parts present, and there were only six complete sets in the library :

	No. of Vols.	Years.
1. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*	14	1919–34
2. *British Museum Quarterly*	9 ¼	1926–35
3. *B.S.A.J. Bulletin*	7 Nos.	1922–25
4. *Iraq*	1½	1934–35
5. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*	4½	1931–36
6. *Syria*	15¾	1920–35

The Honorary Treasurer, Sir Robert Mond, was informed of this, and generously gave £200 towards setting things right, with the result that between November, 1935, and the end of 1936 there had been obtained :

78 complete volumes
190 separate parts
8 supplements
7 indices

On 31st December, 1936, twenty-nine periodicals were being currently received, and the following eighteen sets were complete so far as then published :

SETS OF PERIODICALS COMPLETE AT END OF 1936

	No. of Vols.	Years.
Ancient Egypt	20	1914–35
Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research	15	1919–35
British Museum Quarterly	10	1926–36
B.S.A.J. Bulletin	7 Nos.	1922–25
Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology	3¾	1931–36
Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research	63 Nos.	1919–36
Bulletin of the American School of Prehistoric Research	12 Nos.	1928–36
Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society	3	1933–36
Bulletin of the John Rylands Library	19	1923–36

	No. of Vols.	*Years.*
Iraq	3	1934–36
Journal of Egyptian Archæology	21	1914–35
Journal of Hellenic Studies	55¼	1880–1936
Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society	15¾	1920–36
Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology	22½	1908–36
Morgenland	28 Nos.	1924–36
Palestine Museum Bulletin	4 Nos.	1924–27
Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine	6¼	1931–36
Syria	16½	1920–36

Binding was begun in 1936, but had to be stopped in July owing to my absence in England. For the period January–July, the figures are as follows :

	Volumes newly bound	Volumes whose binding has been corrected	Volumes whose title on back has been corrected or amplified	Volumes repaired or rebound	
Books	8	—	—	7	15
Periodicals	81	37	181	15	314
Totals	89	37	181	22	329

The search for missing parts is being continued, and binding is being done as they are obtained. The names of all periodicals have been printed on their shelves in large type, for greater ease in finding them.

Although I cannot yet report that all our sets are complete, it will be gathered from the lists given above that the object of Sir Robert's gift, which was to provide readers with working tools in good condition, is in a fair way to being attained.

It is right that the additions now being made to the periodicals should be set on record, for while the improvement which is resulting from them is obvious to old habitués of the library, the completed sets will have, for new readers, no more than the appearance which they might reasonably be expected to have, and it may easily be forgotten that, but for this gift, they would have been very different.

P. L. O. GUY.

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